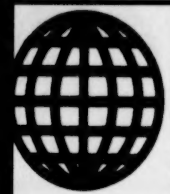


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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-89-045

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25 APRIL 1989

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## ALBANIA

### Young People Fail To Support Youth Centers 21000010 Tirana ZERI 1 POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by Perparim Xhixha: "In the Tirana Youth Centers There Is a Lack of Young People"]

[Text] It was a very joyful occasion for youth when, in Tirana and in other districts of the country, youth centers began to be inaugurated one after another. This occurred two or three years ago, while now their reputation is slandered: they are not kept clean, there are serious shortages of equipment, educational and recreational facilities for youth are becoming tepid, not to mention the fact that sometimes they are closed altogether.

"It must be said sincerely," explained recently Comrade Mariete Kosta, secretary of the BRPSH [Union of Albanian Working Youth] Committee of Region No 1 in the capital, "that the youth centers are not justifying the purpose for which they were established. Nevertheless, the youth centers in wards 1 and 10 (which are under the auspices of the Youth Committee of Region 1) work well. We only have a problem with youth participation...."

In the youth centers, therefore, there is a lack of young people. In order, apparently, to fill this "void," many ideas have begun to arise: upon whom must the youth centers depend? Upon the youth committees? Upon the executive committees of neighborhood people's councils? Or upon the Palace of Culture? It seems as though a "master of the house" has still not been found who has more than three rights or duties. This is not surprising. For the five centers opened in Tirana, after two or three years it is rather incredible that one still hears such complaints as: "We do not have a cleaning woman"; "We do not have anyone to paint or maintain the premises in good condition"; "We solved a few problems through the community, but things do not proceed that way"; etc.

"Our difficulties are not being resolved," we were told by Merqez Xhelili, a pensioner, who has been working as a volunteer for a year, mornings and afternoons, together with Enver Pasho, another pensioner, to keep the chess and pingpong room open, receiving compensation of 100 and 200 leks per month over and above their old-age pension. "Altogether, we have two pingpong areas, but one of them was destroyed." Three or four pensioners playing chess were attentive to our conversation and observed us reproachfully.

In the capital (in the city and schools alone) there are thousands and thousands of young people. They constitute a colossal force for all areas of life, production and culture, but these young people also want to spend their free time pleasantly. We would say that for this purpose,

five youth centers are too few. In making this judgment, we do not deny the work that has been done and is being done in these new centers for education and amusement. As the youth workers say, during the week of new talent organized by the Central Committee of the BRPSH, in the youth centers, just as everywhere else, many activities were developed, but they were not of high quality. Other examples could be mentioned, but all of them lead to one true fact: the youth centers truly hum when young people approach them, when the elected members and cadres of the apparatus of the regional committees of the BRPSH go to them. The individuals who devise methods for the Palace of Culture, regardless of how competent they are, cannot know the life of youth, cannot know its intellectual requirements and needs in the way that the organizations and elected organs of youth know them and must know them. Knowing these requirements, it is difficult to judge whether or not three to four activities per week (!) are sufficient. If the Palace of Culture and the specialists in cultural work would give some methodical assistance to the youth centers, they would benefit and contribute to the happiness of the youth. Let their example of direct assistance be followed by the many other institutions of art, culture, and science in Tirana. But this does not mean that others should do the work of youth, its cadres, its activists, and the apparatus of its committees in regions and districts.

"We have our faults too," we were told by Fatmir Xhafa, first secretary of the District BRPSH Committee, "but it must be said that the organizational and financial problems connected with the smooth operation and normal functioning of the youth centers have not been solved. Meetings are held, proposals are made, but nothing is decided. "We will see," says one. "We will see," says another.

Someone may say that a single tape recorder or a single accordion or guitar is enough for one youth center. A few musical instruments have been found "throughout the community." When bars and restaurants in Tirana are full of tape recorders, why should it be hard to get one for a youth center? The difficulty may perhaps involve sectorialism or departmentalism. But in any case, the administrative organs in charge of the youth can and must do more in this area. The instructions of the party in that the party organs and basic party organizations, as well as the government organs, etc., should devote more attention to the education and recreation of the youth, must be followed step by step until they are fully implemented in life, while resolving everything in the logic and content of its directive.

## BULGARIA

### Changes in Publishing System Analyzed 22000053 Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 24 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Zhivko Ganchovski and Evgeni Ganchovski: "Publishing Houses of the Future"]

[Text] Although we have automatically borrowed from abroad the term "publishing house," we must now give it

our own ideological, cultural and economic content. The task is difficult, for this entire publishing complex has had problems which have been accumulating for many long years, starting with personnel and ending with paper. These are problems which stuck like a fish bone in the throat, and no one to pull it out. Sensible ideas and suggestions were not lacking but they were somehow left to hang in a vacuum. They were rarely considered. No persistent efforts were made to learn from the experience of other countries. The halfway solution to increasing difficulties and, in some cases, their obvious circumventing led to a lack of preparedness by the publishing, distribution and printing systems for converting to the new conditions. The various projects on this subject include great lack of clarity and contemporary legal foundations for the development of the press, which also encourages the administrative-bureaucratic solution of problems related to the organization of publishing houses. In our view, to a certain extent we are continuing the old and "nice" tradition of making structural rather than substantive changes.

In order to have a clear idea of the future we must be familiar with the present. At the present time the lack of paper, increased cost of printing services and publications, and the undeveloped and quite faulty distribution network put book publishing and printing in a difficult economic and social situation. On the other hand, the pace at which jobs are being reduced creates an atmosphere of stress and uncertainty (according to official but unrefined (!) data, about 500 journalists have lost their jobs as a result of the closing down of publications, and further changes in personnel are in the making), and dramas in personal and creative life. In other words, the situation is not particularly pleasing. Now let us use another lens. The structure of the organization of publishing and newspaper printing is as follows: All newspapers and periodicals are either the organs or the publications of political and social organizations, which also support a large number of publishing houses. We have no state newspapers but we have state publishing houses and a monopoly on printing and distribution of the written word. Is this not a paradox? It is the result of nothing other than the unclear form of ownership of the press (in most general terms). If an organization owns its own printed organ, it is in the best position to decide what type and how many books, newspapers and periodicals it can publish, based on demand and its financial possibilities. It should be the best judge of how to develop its publishing house, at least in order to be able to support itself. The state should interfere in cases of ownership, and also providing that the labor collectives have agreed and support structural changes.

The publishing house is not simply a mechanical assembly of editorial boards, as is seen by some, but an association of like-minded people, united on the basis of common objectives and ideals and operating on the basis of economic interests. Such, at least, is the practice of countries in which this system has long existed. It promotes the policy of the owner (regardless of whether

it is an organization or a private individual), for otherwise the result is an impersonal attitude, repetitiveness and lack of confidence and, quite naturally, financial failure. The party documents and Ukase No 56 of the State Council indicate clearly and precisely the ideological and legal foundations for the organization of publishing houses, to which the stipulations of companies apply as well. Based on the types of ownership, in theory there may be a publishing house of the Bulgarian Trade Unions or the Fatherland Front, for example, social-state publishing houses, wherever the management is both social and state (culture, education, and so on), as well as cooperative publishing houses, based on some of the present state publishing houses which would like to become autonomous, or else on the basis of Council of Ministers Decree No 35 on individual and collective labor activity of citizens.

The solution of the problem, on a legal basis, is on an entirely different level. It affects, above all, management. So far practical experience has indicated that a number of structural units supervise each publication, interfering directly or indirectly with its content, regardless of its management. A number of people earn a living by demanding a great variety of accounts, references, instructions, orders, and so on, and so forth. Many people interfere in the work of the editors without being directly involved in management or assuming responsibility. Once again, let us cite the law, which specifically emphasizes what cannot be published. Any other "individual" requirements and "advice" should entail penalties not to those who fail to observe them but those who issue them. Such are the party stipulations on the role of the press and the resolutions of the July and December BCP Central Committee plenums. However...

Another important problem is printing and the distribution and procurement of paper. If any structure should be eliminated entirely it would apply to lifting the monopoly on printing and distribution. However we may describe them, the current economic units will not function properly unless they are subdivided into companies which would be independent of each other and with which the publishing houses will sign contracts as equal partners for production and trade and would have the possibility of selecting their partners on the basis of the conditions of price setting, commercial discounts and other indicators. A real market and real competition in the area of spiritual values must be developed.

In the final account, it turns out that it is a question of that fish bone which has stuck in the throat. If we wish to extract it we must clearly interpret the problems of ownership, economic and legal stipulations, subordination and petty supervision and many other matters. I ask myself whether it is necessary to hasten with the solution of such problems, without waiting for changes in the laws, and before the question of paper supplies has been settled (like planning to build a 3-story house with bricks



which would suffice for an outdoor kitchen) and, above all, before we have rejected a number of obsolete concepts and views on the place and role of the printed word.

The structural change will be the easiest to attain: you, you and you will form one publishing house, while you, you and you will set up a second, a third or a fourth.... Some directors or editors in chief may object, the structure of some publishing houses may change, some old dependencies may be retained under new names and new ones may be created without a change in content. We doubt that anyone would be honestly looking for such changes.

Finally, let us touch upon a topic which has long been under discussion: the bureaucratization of publishing and editorial work. In order for a manuscript to be published it must be "initialed" by at least six or seven people and each subsequent signature is aimed less at improving the content than at sharing responsibilities. The role of the editor has been reduced to a minimum. The explanation that the more eyes take a look the less there will be errors is rather naive. Conversely, a number of eyes also means a great deal of incompetence, a great deal of reinsurance, and so on. Global practices have indicated that the greatest responsibility is that of the editor, the person who is the professional in his area. If he is not a professional, there is such a thing as a Labor Code, in which the penalties are stipulated.

It is clear that not everything will be smooth and that there will be clashes and conflicts. What matters, however, is to lay a firm foundation for the new building. Otherwise no changes will take place.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Commentary Examines Disarmament Outlook**  
24000108 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
4 Mar 89 p 1

[Editorial: "A Chance for Europe"]

[Text] As one of the "follow-up steps" after the Vienna meeting of the 35 signatories to the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation (CESC) two additional forums of extraordinary importance for European security open in the Austrian capital on 6 March: discussions among the 35 CESC participating states on confidence building and security measures, and discussions among the 16 NATO countries and seven Warsaw Pact states involving conventional forces in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. Both meetings have precursor links, but can at the same time bring success only if all display political good will and enough initiative proposals.

In the last three years the situation on our continent has changed radically and still is changing in the political, economic, as well as the military sense. The expansion of

political and economic relations between East and West simultaneously undergirds progress in reducing the level of military confrontation and, conversely, reductions in the number of weapons and troops as well as the incipient change in military doctrines have a favorable impact on a general expansion of relations in Europe and help lay the foundations for an all-European home.

The Madrid follow-up meeting at the end of 1983 decided to call for a January 1984 Stockholm conference on confidence building and security measures (covering not only land but also adjacent sea areas and air space). This conference was viewed as the first decisive step on the road toward a military detente. Its result after nearly three years of difficult negotiations and conciliation was the balanced document of September 1986. It stipulates among other things the participants' obligation to announce all military exercises involving more than 13,000 troops at least 42 days in advance, invite foreign observers to ground troop exercises with more than 17,000 men, each year in November exchange exercise schedules for the coming year, and also reaffirms the obligation not to use force or threaten force toward other states. Each state has the right to request an inspection in another state to verify observance of the agreed measures. Czechoslovakia was the first country which on the basis of the Stockholm document invited foreign observers to a military exercise, which was highly commended by the observers as an example to others.

A continuation of the Stockholm conference was mandated by the Vienna follow-up meeting concluded just this year. Not only will it build on the previous document but will also be meeting in a better atmosphere. While this does not mean that the talks will be without problems, the unilateral reduction in the armed forces of the USSR and other socialist countries including Czechoslovakia by approximately 550,000 men is a hardly negligible fact. It will only be the initial days of talks on both forums in Vienna with foreign ministers of the participating states attending that will reveal who has come with what, who is heading where, who keeps silence about what.

Until now the North Atlantic pact has not elaborated a common disarmament platform for Vienna and as has emerged from bilateral talks between top-level representatives of these countries held in the last few weeks, this concept will evidently be presented only at the May NATO meeting in Brussels. At the same time reports are filtering into the public saying that the United States presses for having a prospective conventional disarmament accompanied by an accelerated modernization of short-range (up to 500 kilometers) missiles, which in case of the change is not modernization of the American Lance missile but rather a new weapons system with a range of nearly 500 kilometers instead of the present 120.

Nor does NATO seem overly eager to view armed forces as the sum total of land troops, military air force, naval forces, air defense, civil defense, and other elements. The

pact recently "compared" its forces with the Warsaw Pact by listing only land troops and deriving from it a general preponderance of the Warsaw Pact. This is not a constructive approach but rather an attempt to create artificial problems in advance and a deliberate distortion of reality. At the same time NATO kept silent for instance about naval forces in which, similarly as the United States, it has a multiple superiority. Equally unhelpful is the silence about the nearly 10,000 tanks kept in NATO storage.

The socialist states come to the negotiations with a policy of defensive doctrine, with the principle of balanced interest and equal security and with the concept of reasonable (weapons) sufficiency. They have published data on the armed forces of both sides on the theory that this is an organic whole. They have emphasized the desirability of counting all conventional armaments and weapons systems. Only an honest and open approach will make it possible to arrive at a basis from which to proceed with the anticipated reductions. This includes also elimination of the existing asymmetries or superiority of one side over the other in certain kinds of armaments.

Far too many weapons have accumulated in Europe which does not increase but rather reduces its security—this has been indirectly conceded by the countries which will be negotiating in Vienna starting on 6 March. They are meeting not only to make an armed conflict impossible, but also to reduce their armed forces. This in particular will be the subject of meetings involving 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact states to discuss conventional forces in Europe. Already now it has to be said that the main idea should not be arms control but rather disarmament, real reductions in the number of troops and weapons. Only in this way is it possible to assure a permanent move away from a policy of confrontation and toward cooperation; only in this way one can contribute to the laying of the foundations for an all-European home.

In Vienna, Czechoslovakia is ready to proceed in an active and constructive fashion. As the CC CPCZ General Secretary Comrade Milos Jakes said in a conversation with RUDE PRAVO, we propose announcing military exercises with even a lower number of troops than presently agreed; inviting observers to them; broadening the right of inspecting military activities; generally limiting military exercises, and expanding contacts among military personnel on various levels. We will work for an agreement on substantial reductions in the size of armed forces and conventional armaments of NATO and Warsaw Pact states in line with the principle of reasonable sufficiency. This is in the spirit of our February 1988 initiative proposing the creation, on the line of contact between the two groupings, a zone of trust, cooperation and good neighborly relations. We have a vital interest in the success of the forthcoming negotiations; our desire is to see Vienna become the second decisive step after Stockholm on the road toward a military detente.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Intra-German Relations In European Frame Discussed

23000130c East Berlin EINHEIT in German  
Vol 44 No 2, Feb 89  
(signed to press 11 Jan 89) pp 170-176

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Basler, deputy department head at the GDR International Institute for Politics and Economics, and Dr Juergen Hofmann, deputy director of the Institute for the History of the German Workers' Movement at the Social Unity Party of Germany (GDR) [SED] Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences: "Two German States and Nations in the European House"]

[Text] By setting up a European house together, one intends to head for and bring about a new grade of state and social relations, friendly to cooperation and stabilizing international relations. Resolute disarmament and arms limitation measures and the further extension of mutually beneficial cooperation are the key elements and major operational thrusts for it. The confrontation of the two social systems is to be given the character of peaceful competition exclusively. That would generate an atmosphere "suitable for successfully creating a future marked by the cooperation among states and nations, not be confrontation."<sup>1</sup>

Both German states, developing on their own given, diametrically opposed socioeconomic principles, can and will be "apartments" in the geographic center of such a house. Each will affect its decor in its own terms. Their bilateral relations emit effects on the continent that are not insignificant. These relations no doubt will continue in the future to constitute important aspects in the shaping of the European state and social relations, are part of the European security structure as it is forming. Their character is, on the one side, of great importance for the security of all others involved as well. On the other, European and worldwide detente are essential prerequisites for the possibilities of cooperation and understanding between the GDR and the FRG. As objects as well as subjects, the two German states take part in the process of setting up a European house together, as it conspicuously shows up, e.g., in the nuclear medium-range missile disarmament.

What then must be the role and function of the two German states, independent and sovereign as they are, yet in matters of common interest closely cooperating building blocks in a European house? First, they should have to make a special contribution to safeguarding peace on one of the most sensitive borderlines between the social systems. That mainly must be not to rely on some unstable safety through military "deterrence" but help shape joint, politically guaranteed security in Europe, a zone of trust, diminished armament, and nonaggressive capability in the heart of the continent. Second, they should set an example of cooperative

coexistence, of complex, mutually beneficial cooperation between sovereign states which also are conducting peaceful competition, where ultimately that social order will prevail which not only achieves a high productivity, but on that basis fully places the fruits of scientific-technical progress at the service of man, his social progress, and his personality development. In other words, both German states can and should be stabilizing factors in European state relations and provide impulses for more security and collaboration.

As for the continent at large, so also for the GDR-FRG relations, we seek a plus in stability through a comprehensive security concept that entails political, economic, disarmament, ecological, and humanitarian aspects. There are already activities and proposals for all the aspects of such a security concept referred to. The core of any security system undoubtedly must be the security from war and the renunciation of the use or threat of violence because those factors harbor the biggest dangers for the existence and stability of such a state framework, arms-buildup mainly produces mutual distrust and introduces the strongest economic burdens.

For the relationship between the GDR and the FRG that is not only true to the same degree as for all other European states but, because of some circumstances, in a particular and emphatic manner. That includes the geographic and geostrategic location of the GDR and the FRG, the military stockpiles on the two states' territories, and the fact that neither would have a chance of survival in case of war—several weapons systems are targeted only at their respective territories, nuclear short-range missiles among them. For them, due to the small distances, the difference between strategic and tactical weapons systems virtually falls by the wayside. And then there are historic obligations that give rise to a special responsibility for peace by both German states. They result mainly from the unspeakable suffering German imperialism and fascism imposed on the peoples of the world. And then there are also imperatives of international law: the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, of the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG of 1972, of the Final Act of Helsinki of 1975, and of the joint GDR-FRG communique at the conclusion of the historic official visit in the FRG, in September 1987, by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. In it, it is stated as a jointly formulated quintessence of the situation and of history that "the GDR and the FRG must undertake special efforts for peacefully living together in Europe. Never again must war, only peace must emanate, from German soil."<sup>2</sup>

#### Proceeding from Realities

The cooperation between the two German states in making the European house they share livable, besides the priority of securing peace, calls for a clear view about social, governmental, and political facts. Proceeding from the realities means both German states' policy has

to be placed on the premises of today's security policy: Preventing war as the top principle; political solutions and instruments instead of military ones; ensuring security with one another, as against one another it is not possible, after all. The GDR is working constructively for enforcing these principles.

Proceeding from the realities means: The house of Europe has a socialist and a capitalist wing. That cannot be ignored. The house cannot be built in terms of one-sided ideas. The house of Europe abolishes the opposition and political-ideological confrontation of the systems and opposing interests as little as the fact that both German states are following diverse social courses and are asserting themselves as self-reliant national communities. Yet there are vital problems that no class or no state—whatever the differences—can pass by as they can today be solved only jointly and for mutual interests.

Proceeding from the realities means: Both German states are and remain active members of their respective political and military alliances. That, however, does not exempt them from their own responsibility and from the need to take an initiative. And it imposes the obligation on them to work for reasonable relations between the alliance systems.

Proceeding from the realities above all means the house of Europe they share can be furnished only if the historic decisions and results of World War II and of postwar development are respected and no partner's boundaries and sovereignty are placed in doubt. Present and future developments rely on these givens and facts. Speculations about any sort of reconstruction of former governmental and national structures are and remain unrealistic. They jeopardize the needed joint efforts on behalf of peace, security, cooperation, and neighborliness.

Two mutually independent and sovereign German states exist in Europe. They take their place in differing alliances. Their social orders are mutually incompatible. Their very existence is an element of the correlation of forces and stability in Europe. "This reality is a component of European security and is held to be irrevocable by the nations."<sup>3</sup>

The GDR and the FRG have followed their own way of development for decades. While in the GDR the socialist type of national existence evolved, in the FRG the capitalist nation continues to exist on a smaller scale. The history of the GDR and that of the FRG—that much becomes clear in retrospect—just are two fundamentally different things, unmistakably historical processes, with typical events respectively. Their having evolved out of a joint national history till 1945 does not change that fact.

The renewal of national existence was initiated through the antifascist-democratic transformation. With the successful transition from capitalism to socialism in the



GDR there also was laid the decisive social foundation on which over a longer historic timeframe a new social type of national community, the socialist German nation, evolves. The socialist German nation is developing as a genuine social organism with state, political, economic, and intellectual-cultural foundations irrevocably constituted. The socialist German national state is part of the community of socialist states, interlinked with it in many ways.

However, in the western zones of occupation, which later became the FRG, imperialist forces deliberately placed their stakes on the splitting of Germany. The restoration of capitalist conditions was purposefully being worked for, the power of the monopolies was recovered and stabilized. For it, national unity was consciously and systematically undermined. "The truth of history is incorruptible. When the FRG was set up on orders from the western powers, it was done explicitly against the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement. The circles around Adenauer, then again in the saddle, acted in accordance with the motto 'rather half of Germany all the way than all of Germany by half' and thereby abandoned any chance for any other way."<sup>4</sup> The "fathers of the FRG" and their heirs, who love to pose as the trustees of a "united German nation," cannot be exempted from that liability.

The SED from the very beginning warned about the long-range consequences that had to come from the imperialist policy of partition, particularly from a protracted political division. "Very long—and for good reason to the extreme limit—our party held on to the goal of achieving democratic and progressive development in all of Germany. It remains the SED's historic distinction resolutely to have conducted, together with other antifascist-democratic forces, the fight against the splitting of the nation, against the formation of a separate West German state and for a unified antifascist-democratic republic. That goal could not be attained. The power ratio at the national and international scope did not permit the solution of that task despite the greatest efforts."<sup>5</sup>

Binding decisions were made through intricate and bitter conflicts about the problems which after World War II were normally called the German question. That relates to the question about the political organization of the German people and to that of the social principles of its existence. In the two German states alternatives for German development assumed real and historically stable shape. That truly is an extraordinary process history does not offer just any day. It does not change the fact, however, that this outcome of political struggles and European postwar development has to be respected without compromise. "The inviolability of the borders and the respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their current borders are a fundamental condition for peace," as was emphasized in the joint 12 March 1985 declaration between

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG.<sup>6</sup>

The question about the place of the two German states within the international community also has been answered for many years. Problems originally made dependent on a German peace treaty have been settled in a mandatory fashion under international law through various bilateral and multilateral treaties.

All realistic stock-taking again and again leads to this objective realization: On the German question as posed concretely in the outcome of World War II history has passed its binding judgment. Her definite decision of historic consequence have already been taken; they need not be left up to future developments. The GDR people have exercised their right to governmental, social, and national self-determination. There are no deficits in GDR history, much though authoritative FRG politicians keep insinuating there are. As the GDR casts no doubt on the FRG citizens' opting for their state, our option must also be valid in turn. Otherwise good neighborly relations are impossible.

#### Socialism and the Destinies of Europe

Only together can the European house be shaped by many, also differing, forces. That is inherent in the peaceful coexistence policy. The coalition of reason, realism and peace also is based on that idea. Still, we must not ignore that influential and active opponents of that concept of European understanding exist in imperialism. Yet in western states too, many forces, headed by communists, social democrats, and unionists, are committed to the new ideas in international relations. Helpful are the efforts by governments and statesmen in the neutral countries on our continent, as well as from politicians in NATO states, who seek to contribute to the recovery of the international situation with judgment, reason, and good will. With it, it can always again be seen that in the struggle for security and cooperation in Europe the socialist states are the most consistent and strongest force. The GDR is making an internationally noted and appreciated contribution to it.

The existence and development of socialism has been and is of the greatest importance for the European continent. Let us recall this: The socialist Soviet Union it was which resisted the assault of fascism, saved Europe from plunging into barbarism, made the crucial contribution to freeing the European peoples from the fascist yoke, and gave them the chance to realize their right to national and social self-determination. Against the strength of the still young socialist community in the 1950's and 1960's imperialist global strategies foundered that had been designed to roll back again social progress in Europe. As a founding member of the socialist defense



alliance, the GDR has had its share in repelling aggressive machinations. The date of 13 August 1961 remains one that secured peace in Europe, fostered realistic assessments, and helped pave the way to contractual accords.

The socialist states have always resolutely advocated the idea of European security and pushed the detente process ahead. Already in the first half of the 1950's, the Soviet Union proposed to reach agreement on a collective security system in Europe. In 1954 it submitted propositions for an appropriate all-European treaty. The imperialist circles, however, chose military confrontation, drew the FRG into the imperialist pact system, and spread NATO's sphere of influence into Central Europe. The socialist states continued to leave nothing undone to reach treaty solutions for unresolved problems. In the end, decisive constructive proposals for a turn toward detente in Europe came from the Bucharest declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states on consolidating peace and security in Europe, ratified in 1966. Of the greatest importance was the proposal to summon a European conference to discuss the questions of ensuring security in Europe and proceeding toward European cooperation. That was the beginning of a complicated and lengthy road leading through the treaties of the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR with the FRG, in 1970 and 1973, the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin of 1971, and the 1972 GDR-FRG Basic Treaty, to the Final Act of Helsinki, which was signed in 1975. The socialist countries, the GDR among them, had a significant share in preparing that final act. Important principles for European security and cooperation are found in it that had already been proposed in the Bucharest declaration of 1966 and that today are rightly called by many a "rule of the house" for Europe.

Relations between the two German states regulated by treaty in the meantime—more than one and a half decades after the signing of the Basic Treaty—are now taken for granted. The GDR has done decisive things for this piece of normalcy in the heart of Europe. Time and time again, initiatives for constructive and realistic settlement of relations have come from the socialist German state. Directly after the founding of the two German states already the GDR advocated talks and negotiations between the two governments and parliaments. During the 1950's and 1960's, the FRG ignored more than 100 GDR proposals and offers. Even far-reaching compromises were turned down. When finally at the turn to the 1970's, the Brandt/Scheel government, against much resistance, broke through the sphere of influence of the Bonn obstructionist policy and accepted the GDR's offer to negotiate, the debacle of the sole representation pretension and the risk of FRG foreign policy isolation had long been apparent.

Proceeding from the 1972 GDR-FRG Basic Treaty, many further negotiations have brought results to this day. They always were fruitful whenever the FRG likewise let itself be guided in practice by the reality that

there existed two German states. On this basis advances became possible in the cooperation between the GDR and the FRG which also are of benefit to Europe as a whole.

Many suggestions are still being made by the GDR to meet the requirements for a comprehensive, constructive security policy and the special responsibility for peace by both German states, set down in international law. The dialogue needed for it is conducted broadly and on various levels—between the governments, parties, economists, social forces and scientists. In this dialogue the GDR is oriented to the contribution from both German states to a secure house of Europe—in conformity, by the way, with realistic FRG forces.

Primarily this involves taking part in or supporting the reduction of military threat potentials. This calls for initiating measures, pushing for their solution and helping their implementation through which to achieve, in Central Europe precisely, arms reduction and disarmament and a change in the military structures and doctrines in the direction toward unequivocal nonaggressive capability. One idea which the GDR, picking up suggestions from the SED and the SPD, together with the CSSR, considers especially necessary and relevant is setting up nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones in Central Europe. That would move apart perilous military potentials where NATO and the Warsaw Pact touch one another directly. Regrettably, the FRG government has turned that down thus far.

It is, furthermore, urgently necessary that both sides, for themselves and in their respective alliances, see to it that under the slogan of "modernizing" nuclear weapons not new and, in part, qualitatively different weapons systems are developed and deployed, through which results of the INF Treaty are destroyed through the backdoor. The GDR, together with its alliance partners, has repeatedly taken a clear position on this in terms of an appropriate renunciation. The FRG, on the other hand, is taking a highly contradictory position causing the concern that there the green light is given to such new armaments measures.

The approaching negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe will become a central area and touchstone for real disarmament efforts. The two German states are most strongly and directly affected by that. The GDR has repeatedly affirmed its will and readiness for rapid disarmament steps and drastic cuts to the military potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact organization. Official circles in the FRG, however, are turning themselves into spokesmen for concepts that by and large demand unilateral reductions in the military potentials of the socialist states.

Politically helpful for making headway in the disarmament process also would be an extension of confidence and security forming measures, such as data exchange,

mutual inspections in all forms, meetings between military personnel, further reduction in the number and strength of maneuvers, or establishing a Bonn-Berlin "hot line." In a paper jointly prepared with the SPD in 1988, the SED presented its concrete ideas about it.

Both German states ought to use the chances for international division of labor, work together for their mutual benefit in the economic, ecological, and scientific-technical fields, while also seeing to it that the other states on the continent, mainly the economic integration groups, cooperate with one another. More security through more cooperation is the motto. Highly developed, in close vicinity, and with their traditional economic interaction, both German states possess favorable prerequisites for expanding their cooperation. The GDR is consistently doing all it can do to make headway here in spite of still extant imperialist restrictions, as economic and political circles in the FRG likewise champion smooth and efficient economic exchange with the GDR, which is a reliable, correct, and attractive partner for many firms in the FRG.

A propitious field of enormous importance to all of Europe lies in our cooperation in environmental protection. The geographic vicinity and the density of settlement and of the industrial potential of both states make this most pressing. First steps toward interstate accords, economic experience exchange, and joint projects have been taken, others are still under negotiation. Both sides certainly see their common interest and common responsibility there.

In a process of political confrontation between the GDR and the FRG, and even within the FRG, a clear increase of constructiveness, cooperation, stability, and normalcy in relations between the two states has on the whole been reached in recent years in spite of all fluctuations and still unresolved problems. That was possible because the flexible dialogue and peace policy of the GDR and other socialist states, proceeding from firm positions, was able to provide many impulses and achieve effects; it was also possible because even in the FRG realistic forces are to a growing extent politically effective. Realistic tendencies are also contained in the government policy, though time and again they show contradictory traits for being linked with burdensome elements and unrealistic positions. Advances have been and are possible and necessary for reason of specific and objective common interests—notably in war prevention, economic cooperation, and removing environmental stress. They affect the forming of policy on either side, even if not automatically and—due to the differences and contrasts in the social orders—not in the same way.

But we are far from having reached all that is desirable, feasible, and necessary on behalf of Europe and its peoples. More thought and, mainly, actions are needed. The GDR is ready for it, as long as reason, respect for realities, and mutual advantage determine the actions of the FRG—a state which, to us, is an important partner in

peaceful coexistence yet at the same time a representative of a different social order with which we find ourselves in peaceful competition.

The FRG has repeatedly affirmed its willingness for cooperation and has practiced it, too, in various fields. At the same time, the construction of the European house and the improvement in bilateral GDR-FRG relations are burdened by various positions. That includes, among other things, their abiding by the armaments-encouraging dogma of "deterrence" and the unrealistic doctrines of the "open German question" and of the "unity of the nation" with all the concomitant practices. It also includes, not last, their arrogant interference in our sovereign socialist state's very own business, undertaken in the form of hypocritical "lessons" on human rights precisely by those forces in the GDR that are trampling the human rights in their country underfoot.

The GDR, where the welfare for the people is the supreme principle and the all-inclusive realization of human rights, undeniable reality, will continue to approach the shaping of peaceful coexistence relations with the FRG, in accord with its fundamental peace policy concern, with initiative, realism, and accountability, yet without illusions, as it will offer and conduct a dialogue oriented to results. Thereby it contributes in this field also to setting up and furnishing a European house in which all can live comfortably.

#### Footnotes

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 7. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the 7th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1988, p 6.

2. "Ein Erfolg der Politik der Vernunft und des Realismus" [A Success of the Policy of Reason and Realism], Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1987, p 39.

3. Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Referat auf der Beratung des Sekretariats des ZK der SED mit den 1. Sekretären der Kreisleitungen" [From the Speech at the Conference of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the Kreis First Secretaries], Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1988, p 101.

4. Ibid.

5. Hermann Axen, "Patriotism and Internationalism in the Struggle of Our Time," EINHEIT, Nos 11/12, 1988, p 968.

6. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 March 1985, p 2.

### Peace Movements, Goals Examined

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[Article by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, president of the GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation: "Peace Movement and European Security"]

[Text] The world is undergoing radical change—especially also Europe. The survival of humanity is at stake. The essential task has arisen—a first in history—to avert the threatening danger of the self-destruction of human civilization. Permanent peace has to prevail, partly by establishing a common European habitat. That is a priority and overriding objective of the GDR's foreign policy, which entered 40 years ago with the commitment to do everything so that never again war will emanate from German soil.

In the liberation of humanity from the scourge of war are bound together the interests the Europeans have in common with the inhabitants of the other continents. It is prerequisite to any historic progress as to the continued existence of the human race altogether. That places a historic task on the agenda of our era that is unique in size and in its all-inclusiveness as in its specifics, its contradictoriness and its links with all domains and forms of human existence. Solutions—especially on our so highly vulnerable continent—call for the active partnership of impulses on an unprecedented political and social scale.

This task touches the vital interests of each and everyone directly. For that very reason have already today the broad public peace commitment and the collaboration among its diverse shades and currents become the most striking element of international relations. The most recent positive changes in international life that occurred in spite of protracted resistance and new risky interference by imperialist forces that are against disarmament and detente, above all our entering nuclear disarmament, would have been impossible without a mighty mass movement for peace and disarmament.

### Conformity Between Socialism and the Peoples' Peace Commitment

The broad masses' peace struggle has its own traditions of course, looking back, after all, as an element of international life, to many decades, actually to all of the 20th century. Its genesis is linked directly with the start of the imperialist period of capitalism, simply because monopoly capital, with its boundless greed for profits and the policy of worldwide aggression and expansion that stems from it, with the marriage between economics and militarism, turned the danger of war into a permanent manifestation of international life and plunged the nations into two devastating world wars and other

already uncountable military conflicts and acts of violence. The development and consolidation of the international peace struggle are inseparably linked, in equal measure, with the upsurge of the revolutionary workers movement—particularly with the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and in other countries after 1945. These historic roots have lost none of their effectiveness to this day. The most important and largest potency of all the peace forces is found as before in socialism because it cannot prosper without peace and it has no system-conditioned factors that could determine a war policy. Time and again this has been proven throughout history, especially in Europe. An effective peace policy, for all that, is of course no automatic consequence of the functioning of socioeconomic and class-bound characteristics. Conscious action is always needed, sustained by the humanistic and internationalist principles of the new society and oriented to the working people's very own class interests, which conform to humanity's peace ideals.

For decades, initiatives and demands introduced to international politics by the socialist states, especially by the Soviet Union, have held the center of the peace struggle. That was so already in the time between the two world wars. And it was so in the early years of the nuclear arms-buildup, when the United States indulged the illusion to have a permanent monopoly on owning these new destructive weapons and to be able to abuse them as means of blackmail. So it went throughout the time of the Cold War and also in those years when the international situation, especially the political atmosphere in Europe, began to relax in connection with the CSCE process.

Two interconnected reasons led to this undeniable harmony between socialist foreign policy and the public peace struggle. For one thing, the socialist states' initiatives in their main trend always conformed to the interests of all who advocated the curbing of war danger, regardless of what other political goals they combined with it and of what ideological positions they championed. It was its tradition, after all, that socialist foreign policy since 1917, since Lenin's Peace Decree, always had two addresses in international politics: the governments and the peoples. And then also, actually in this period there were no concrete peace propositions that were not initiated, or at least actively supported, by the socialist states.

For all that, the socialist states in no way claimed a monopoly in advocating a reduction of military confrontation. Especially in this field they consider a contest suitable that intends to make headway through disarmament and detente by constructive contributions from all politicians, all social forces bearing responsibilities for the peoples' destiny. Today, when the survival of mankind is at stake and a modern war can for no one be a promising continuation of politics with different means, an objectively new situation has arisen. And the readiness and ability to draw the proper conclusions from it



also are growing worldwide. They include, no last, the analyses, conceptions and concrete propositions from representatives of the nonaligned states, from parliamentarians of diverse political persuasions, from natural scientists, physicians, artists, political scientists, and especially also from peace movements of the different shades.

From NATO or leading representatives of its member states that have large military destructive stockpiles but can look back at long years of experience in world politics, such initiatives are still rather rare, to put it mildly. Offers that would above all formulate one's own contribution and not just settle for a catalogue of demands directed at the opposite side, concrete suggestions as negotiable basis for bilateral and verifiable disarmament steps still are not observable. Therefore the turn that is rife in shaping international politics keeps proceeding laboriously and drags. Reversals are not yet barred. The turn is by no means irreversible.

This must be said though international politics has taken a positive turn, especially also in Europe. Mainly the practical application of the INF Treaty, this first mandatory accord under international law, which eliminates a whole class of destructive weapons, makes a positive difference. And then there is the de-escalation of regional conflicts, the fundamental readiness, unrestricted by any preconditions, to conduct negotiations on other disarmament areas, on reducing mutual distrust, and on the development of international cooperation. Never before has the dialogue between statesmen and with public representatives had as much of a weight as it has today.

That is also shown in new and, in many ways, especially efficacious forms such as the Berlin meeting on nuclear weapons-free zones, as held under Erich Honecker's tutelage in June 1988. The composition of its attendants actually reflected the whole range of the political spectrum of our time. Mainly, however, the meeting offered the chance for effective cooperation between representatives of the official foreign policy and of the public, members of government, parliamentarians, representatives of various trends, and prominent personalities. The world's conscience has been stirred; world politics must more strongly be affected by it.

The Third UN Special Session on Disarmament Matters, including the active participation by many nongovernment organizations, staunchly demonstrated the advances of thought in international politics. In particular, Mikhail Gorbachev's speech before the UN General Assembly on 7 December 1988, noted worldwide, through its strength of conviction and the concreteness of the propositions, not last the announcement of unilateral decisive arms reduction measures, has lent a new upsurge to the continued recovery of the international situation. Widely supporting the Soviet initiatives and the concerted peace strategy of the Warsaw Pact states,

the GDR is actively and responsibly making its constructive contribution to the disarmament process. Its unilateral measures, announced by Erich Honecker in January, on significantly reducing the personnel strength and stockpiles of the NVA [National People's Army] and cutting defense outlays—regardless of negotiations—attest once again to the continuity and irrevocability of its commitment to peace and security and should be an incentive worth thinking about by other European states.

### **Broad Peace Movement More Necessary Than Ever**

So there is no reason for pessimism. Euphoria, however, would be equally wrong. Nothing comes automatically. The rate of arms-buildup—quantitative as well as, especially, qualitative—still exceeds that of disarmament. That is a reality to which one must not close one's eyes. And then, in the fortresses of capitalism there are powerful forces influencing economics and politics that insist on the purportedly unaltered need for a strong military factor as well as on its steady dynamic extension. For that very reason public commitment is more needed today than ever to bring about that turn in international politics for which there is no plausible alternative.

The antiwar movement in its various forms and trends has had a large share in that world peace was maintained during the last four decades and Europe did not become a theater of war, even if that it has been called in the hazardous scenarios of the different NATO staffs. The antiwar movement had much of an effect on that the acute nuclear war danger in the 1950's did not turn into horrifying reality. Without the antiwar movement, the shift in the political thinking in Europe during the turn from the 1960's to the 1970's, which then led to the Helsinki Conference, would hardly have occurred. And the actions taken by the mass movement for peace and disarmament, the public pressure for surmounting confrontation and adopting a sense of realism significantly supported the efforts to find a way out of the missile blind alley and grant a new breathing spell to the detente process.

It still remains an important task for all peace-loving forces to reveal the secret of how wars are prepared and by whom. Demagogical arguments pitted against international detente, the seeking of joint security, and the development of equitable cooperation, and making much of the need, presumably justified by history, for a policy of strength, with a primacy for military security, must be ruled out with conviction. Everything must be done so that we must not again repress the insight grown in recent years that a modern war would not be survivable for human civilization. Fear, granted is a poor counselor in politics. But denying realities and their risks or indulging illusions about a renaissance of the military factor in international politics can have no less fatal consequences.



A long time is likely still to be needed to stir up the world's conscience, warn against dangers, bring suit against material or mental war preparations, propagate demands of principle or, in other words, mobilize as broad and intensive a movement for peace, detente, and international cooperation as possible. At the same time it is necessary to introduce more constructive solution proposals into international politics and to take part in the elaboration of practical steps that would ensure incessant advances and remove mankind more and more from the abyss. And we must not waste time. Arms expenditures are much too high considering the lack of funds to alleviate the global problems of humanity; the waste of mental potential is unacceptable. But above all it is morally despicable to force mankind under the sword of Damocles of nuclear deterrence, there being no guarantee for a catastrophe not to occur due to human or technical error, let alone to actions by adventurist forces.

The public, multilayered as it is, is predestined to a special degree to formulate and take care of general human interests. Experiences made by politicians, detailed knowledge of experts, and general ideas oriented directly to the interests and concepts of the public hence belong together; they must be harmonized and transformed into practical steps.

#### The Priority of Disarmament

Top importance in this attaches to an understanding of where in the struggle to safeguard peace the decisive lever is to be applied, what the priority task is. And it is of little use to philosophize whether arming causes distrust or vice versa. Both must go, both are dangerous, affect one another and affect the international situation negatively. The parallel negotiations initiated by the Vienna CSCE follow-up conference on conventional disarmament in Europe and the development and extension of confidence-forming measures offer a fine opportunity to discuss these two problem areas in their connection and their specifics and to move them toward constructive solutions.

Thus, the tasks to be solved cannot be set down in a rigid sequence. Too many problems have piled up; ensuring a peaceful future for humanity is a multilayered process. Delays in environmental protection, in the use of the natural resources, in taking account of the social and other consequences of the scientific-technical revolution, in surmounting the still increasing gap between developed and underdeveloped countries and regions and in the solution of many other problems concerning individuals as well as society can assume a threatening scope, produce acute crises, or create no longer controllable conflicts and situations.

Nonetheless, in the current phase of development advances in the global, the universal human, interest as, ultimately, in all fields, waiting for solutions, are possible only if the priority of disarmament is accepted and practiced. That applies to reducing the superdimensional

armaments capacities with their overkill effect, their potential for the multiple destruction of human civilization—a task that has to be solved at short shrift. And it applies no less to eliminating the military factor from international politics, which is now historically obsolete but will, time and again, reproduce the highest perils—a task that no doubt will take a long time to be resolved. Intermediate phases, like setting up a nonaggression structure for the armed forces, also require to be dealt with effectively and, mainly, through common efforts.

Many reasons advocate the priority of reducing armaments, nuclear as conventional. Optimum accords are possible as the outcome of negotiations carried on under the aegis of seeking consensus, a positive conclusion. And the public can significantly contribute to it through its means and authority. An effective forward movement in this field ought to be easier today too than it was in the past. There is not only the negative experience that the absence of a military detente, in fact the new round in the arms race starting in the late 1970's after the NATO missile resolution, undermined the detente process that had so laboriously been put into action. There was the serious danger that the foundation-walls of the overall European structure, jointly designed through the Final Act in Helsinki, would crumble away again before they were erected and the ideas of the architecture of this structure had time to mature. Yet there now is also the positive experience of a first disarmament accord, its verifiability, and its salubrious effects on the entire European and international situation.

More important still, however, is the realization that has grown worldwide and especially also in Europe that the modern industrial states cannot survive a war. The gigantic stockpiles of weapons of annihilation are no suitable means for enforcing any political goals. That is something new too. And the prestige and influence a state has by no means any longer depend the same way on its military power as was the case in the past. All these insights have largely been furnished and put into international politics by the public, the natural and social scientists, and the peace movements. Yet this realization must also lead to the logical conclusion that history itself put on the agenda this arms reduction with the idea of eventually eliminating all material means of warfare. Now there are such priority problems to be resolved as "the 50-percent reduction of the strategic offensive weapons while maintaining the ABM Treaty, the worldwide banning of the production, storage and application of chemical weapons, the gradual stopping of nuclear tests for warfare purposes, the starting of disarmament in the conventional field from the Atlantic to the Urals, the extension of nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones, the setting up of zones of confidence forming, and producing a nonaggressive capability of the existing armed forces."<sup>1</sup>

For Europe this holds true in a special way. Here confrontation is most dangerous and the insanity of war, most obvious. For that reason, along with the drastic

reduction of nuclear strategic offensive weapons and the stopping of nuclear tests, conventional disarmament has become the key issue on our continent. Great expectations attach, with good reason, to the negotiations on disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. They will be met if all attendants pursue the following objectives:

- drastic arms reduction, perceptible to all Europeans, beginning with the reduction of all extant asymmetries, especially of those weapons systems felt to be threats by both sides, which must be followed by a reduction of the overall potential to attain stability on a lower level;
- special efforts to reduce the most dangerous weapons systems, i.e. the weapons of mass annihilation and arms that could facilitate aggressive war, a first strike, which also includes the doubly usable systems that can carry conventional as well as nuclear armament;
- the priority of a drastic reduction of armed forces and arms, including the foreign, in the neuralgic regions of Europe, i.e. mainly, where two blocs confront one another directly—nuclear weapons-free zones and zones of security and confidence, especially in Central Europe, are more topical than ever;
- drawing all types of weapons into the disarmament process. No weapons system must be “taboo” in it. At least one must stop further stockpiling war materiel and the modernization and development of new types of weapons in all areas and regions. In principle, air and naval forces must also be subject to negotiations as they have the ability to carry out accurate “surgical” strikes at depth and from which emanates, especially in crisis situations, a threat no less than from mobile ground forces. Tactical nuclear weapons also must come up for disposition. Concrete negotiations can be conducted separately, but the inherent logical connection between conventional and nuclear arms must be kept in mind accurately;
- establishing the armed forces’ aggressive incapability. For that reason consultations on military doctrines and their defensive character are as much subject to negotiations as are revisions of the structures and dislocations of the armed forces, the elimination of foreign bases, and steps toward abolishing the two military-political groups; and
- uninterrupted control over all agreements made. Experiences in implementing the INF Treaty could help here. The public should also take part in the controls in a suitable form.

The situation of the peace movements differs from country to country, and so does their capacity to be made to prevail. In the GDR there is a close cooperation between all peace-loving forces, the public, and government policy. Precisely while getting set for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, this unity is

demonstrated again in its steady all-European and worldwide oriented peace commitment. In contrast, the peace movement in some NATO states is subjected to harsh repressive measures from the governments and the legal system, as in Great Britain and—proven by the protracted trials against the opponents of the medium-range missiles and the stockpiling of chemical weapons—in the FRG as well.

The year 1989 provides the 75th and the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I and II. That is enough of an occasion for finally learning the lessons from these events, which in such a terrifying manner demonstrate what disaster the imperialist profit and domination drive can heap upon mankind unless it is powerfully opposed—in the nuclear age, at that. This holds true, above all, for Europe and the Europeans. The time is overripe. It is the duty and task of all peace forces to tolerate no delay of further advances in diminishing the danger of war, chiefly in disarmament, and act as a reminder and impulse of it.

#### Footnotes

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, “Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 7. Tagung des ZK der SED” [From the Politburo Report to the 7th SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany—GDR) Central Committee Session], Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1988, p 8).

#### POLAND

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#### [Excerpts]

#### National News

Collective disputes and strikes are continuing in some plants. In Wloclawek Voivodship, the mail carriers struck demanding an average wage increase of 200 percent (the enterprise has about 16,500 zloty for the purpose on the average). At a few milk purchase points in the area of Zambrowo, farmers protested the overly low prices, in their opinion, by pouring out their milk on the ground. Some of the strikes and disputes have ended with agreements. The arbitration in the Voivodship Court in Warsaw ended in an agreement between the union of agricultural circles and the ministry of finance. The dispute about the reduction of prices of agricultural products and the farmers not earning a parity income (in relation to incomes outside of agriculture) had lasted since July 1987. It was agreed that in May they will evaluate the income situation of individual farmers and corrections in the purchase prices will be made.

RZECZPOSPOLITA (3 March 1988) published a report by the Central Office of Statistics on retail prices in January 1988. The average price increase for consumer

goods and services increased by 10.3 from December 1988 to January 1989. Among the most important price increases were: on 1 January 1989, gasoline by 60 percent; diesel fuel, by 30 percent; radio and television subscriptions, by about 29 percent; spare parts for radios, by an average of 30 percent. On 9 January 1989, sugar, by about 27 percent; gold rings, by 59 percent. Beginning 15 January 1989, wheat rolls, by about 25 percent. Beginning 16 January, radios, by 20-60 percent; watches, by about 60 percent; domestic cocoa products, by about 200 percent. On 23 January, coal and coke, by about 15 percent; ordinary tea, by 86 percent; poultry, by about 30 percent. Beginning 24 January, chocolate and products, by an average of 100 percent; and beginning 30 January, prices for pharmaceuticals rose by an average of 200 percent and coffee, by 19 percent.

Premier M.F. Rakowski at a conference of voivods: "Our greatest weakness in this area (breaking the law—editor's note) is our impotence and lack of decisiveness in enforcing the law. This fact encourages the anarchistic and adventurist elements to take actions that not infrequently cause punishable violations of social law and order. I am requiring all voivods and offices of internal affairs resolutely to counteract all rowdiness and adventurism. . . . Those who destroy public property should pay for the losses with cash or make good on them in some other form."

The congress of the Union of Polish Writers, which has 884 members and candidates, took up issues of literature, access to books, the situation of writers. The congress adopted a resolution by writers from Wroclaw on the portions of the collections of the Ossolineum Library that remain in Lvov and expressed hope that constructive contacts with Ukrainian writers will permit them to settle the issue positively. The congress authorized the board to apply for an extraordinary revision of the decision issued a few years ago against Zdzislaw Najder, sentenced for cooperation with American intelligence. It also adopted two resolutions protesting against sentencing Vaclav Havel to prison and against the Iranian authorities' position on Salman Rushdie. The congress elected a new board; Wojciech Zukrowski was reelected president; Leslaw Bartelski, Jerzy Jesionowski, and Zygmunt Wojcik were elected deputy presidents. [passage omitted]

Premier Rakowski sent a letter to General Maczek inviting the 98-year-old commander to come to Poland for the ceremonies associated with the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II. "I wish to assure you," writes the premier, "that the Polish government will receive you with all of the respect due you as a national hero." The General's wife, Zofia Maczkowa, forwarded an answer to the letter to PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY. She thanked him for the letter and wrote: "Unfortunately, neither my husband nor I, if just for reasons of health, will not visit our homeland. And our remains will rest here in Scotland. But we have always been in Poland in our thoughts."

Beginning 1 March, rents for leased, plant-owned apartments and those in private homes rose by 60 percent. In spite of the previous increases, rents in these apartments do not cover the costs of maintaining them (for example, in 1987, the rents covered barely 24 percent of the expenses). Beginning on 6 March, the price of cigarettes increased by an average of 15 percent.

The Deputies' Circle of the Polish Catholic Social Union has submitted a proposed law on legal protection for conceived children to the Sejm Marshal. The final version of the proposal was developed by a group of experts of the Polish Episcopate; 78 deputies of various worldviews signed the proposal.

The level of the average wage in the socialized economy in 1988 was 53,090 zloty; it increased by nearly 24,000 (82 percent) in relation to 1987. A report from Central Office of Statistics.

The Association of Journalists of the People's Republic of Poland has proposed that the Sejm name an ombudsman for freedom of speech and information. The Association has also called for guaranteeing the security of all journalists and publishers operating currently in the underground that decide to legalize their publications. It also proposed amendments to the censorship law to change prior control to posterior control, after the printing of the publication. [passage omitted]

Bronislaw Tronski, a member of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, protested in a letter to Gen J. Kaminski, president of the organization, against awarding combatant status to the former functionary of the Security Service, Jerzy Dusza, who distinguished himself in the use of barbaric methods of investigation against former soldiers of the resistance. B. Tronski conveyed Gen Kaminski's response to the editors of ODRÓDZENIE who published it. It turns out that J. Dusza received combatant benefits on 17 December 1982, and Stanislaw Kujda, the secretary general of the Main Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, signed the letter in this case. It was not a decision of the Main Board, which withdrew the privileges of J. Dusza on 16 November 1988; President Kaminski has ordered an investigation into the matter and punishment for those responsible. [passage omitted]

The PZPR organization of the Bierut Steelworks in Czestochowa after a discussion in the press of the patron of the plant has come forward with a proposal and the workers' self-management has adopted a resolution to organize a referendum among the employees on whether to keep the current name of the works or return to the former name, Czestochowa. The Voivodship Deputy Circle in Lublin has asked the Sejm Presidium to form a commission to evaluate the actions of Boleslaw Bierut. [passage omitted]



### On the Left

[Passage omitted] The debt of the socialist countries: the USSR, \$40.1 billion; Poland, \$38.7 billion; the GDR, \$19.1 billion; Hungary, \$17 billion; Bulgaria \$6.9 billion; Romania, \$3.1 billion. [passage omitted]

On the 71st anniversary of the gaining of independence by Estonia, the blue-black-and-white Estonian national flag was raised on the Tallin castle tower in Tallin. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "We should regret that on this holiday one could encounter extremist slogans on the streets of Tallin. What did the posters with these slogans mean: "Down with the occupation of the Baltic republics" or "No to the Estonian SSR, yes to free Estonia." At a press conference, M. Titma, secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, in response to a question whether Estonia intends to fight for secession from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: "We are striving to rebuild our sovereignty within the Union." [passage omitted]

Todor Zhivkov: During Stalinist times more than 1,000 Bulgarians were repressed, and more than 600 died. Among them were well-known activists.... "The BCP Central Committee lacks data on the rehabilitation of 227 individuals. At present, we are working on them, matching facts, and when this work is completed, we will make an announcement to all of society." [passage omitted]

In Cuba, there has been a significant decline in the number of individuals learning Russian and a simultaneous expansion of the system of English instruction. Fidel Castro, at the December session of the Cuban parliament in 1984, emphasized the need for priority for English instruction. It is important, among other reasons, in order to prepare for tourism. [passage omitted]

### Opinions

*Kazimierz Dejmek:*

(Interviewed by St. Meller, MOWIA WIEKI December 1988)

[Dejmek] During the Stalinist period, the people began to lose their historical memory. In my repertoire, I attempted to counteract this loss. And perhaps, I succeeded in delaying this process by a second; in history a second is an ocean of time.

The historical memory of the average Pole seems to have been amputated. I am seriously concerned that Poles are an artificiality, a limping artificiality, freaks.

[MOWIA WIEKI] And this is why this report against the grain delights you?

[Dejmek] In a sense. Look. Hovering over our awareness today, for example, there is a false memory of the occupation. It is a completely mythical picture.

[MOWIA WIEKI] Sometimes we deal with varied, contradictory types of amnesia or myth making; both from below and from above, from the right and from the left.

[Dejmek] Obviously, this is the case, but I am most interested in self-amputation. It seems to me to be the most dangerous phenomenon. Without an extensive many-sided historical memory, it is hard to speak, at all, of the decent functioning of the state and society in our situation. This combination is stronger than everyone thinks.

*Ludwik Krasucki, columnist:*

(From an article, "The Complaints of Stanislaw Kociol" in ZYCIE LITERACKIE 5 March 1989)

"The author obviously frightens the party and union reader with Solidarity. But this has little to say about Solidarity. On the one hand, it passes over the background against which that phenomenon was born, the causes that led so many workers, so many working people, to place their hopes in it. It passes by the great potential of socialist renewal carried by its members and many activists, far, in spite of the emotions, from the destructive desires of antisocialist extremism.

On the other hand, it discreetly passes over the fact that the PZPR leadership did not wait for the warning published in January 1989 in order to cut off the extremely dangerous course of events in 1981. It also passes by, in spite of the evidence, the evolution which has resulted from the roundtable and also everything being done to support that evolution and to prevent a return of anarchy."

*Ryszard Reiff, president of the Union of Siberians, a member of the Citizens' Committee associated with Lech Walesa:*

(Interviewed by Blanka Danilewicz and Tadeusz Lasota, LAD 19 February 1989)

So far we have been left to our own devices, for the Polish state has made no attempt to get damages for those who were not only deprived of freedom but who were also subjected to hunger and slave labor that frequently lasted longer than the entire Second World War. The Siberians and their families did not avoid poverty and deprivation. Invalids and older people live in general deprivation. We must care for them in particular. Thus, the most pressing task of the Union is to obtain combatant status for all individuals deported to the USSR, including the civilian population deported. The years spent in the USSR must be included in their retirements, just as the military-service time, time in concentration and prison camps is. The rights of invalids



among the Siberians must be equalized with the rights of war invalids. We have appealed to the appropriate Sejm and government commissions for effective action in these matters.

*Henryk Wujec, secretary of the Citizens' Committee associated with Lech Walesa:*

(Interviewed by Witold Gadomski, NOWE ZYCIE 26 February-11 March 1989)

[NOWE ZYCIE] Elections to the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland have been announced for this year. What role will the committee play in the elections? Will it divide the slots with the authorities? Will it provide deputies to the future Sejm?

[Wujec] It surely will not divide slots with the government. I think that Solidarity will accept only a solution in which candidates for deputy can be nominated in an unrestricted way, even if the coalition governing today guarantees itself a majority in the Sejm. Obviously, members of the committee may be among the candidates.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### **Kucan Offers 'Slovenian Vision of Federalism'**

28000099 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian  
4 Apr 89 pp 17-19

["Excerpt" from book preface by Milan Kucan: "The Slovenian Vision of Federalism"; first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] The Globus Publishing House will soon publish the book "Federalizam po mjeri buducnosti" [Federalism to the Measure of the Future] by Dr Ciril Ribicic and Dr Zdravko Tomac. The long preface, challenging both in its analytical spirit and commitments, was written by Milan Kucan, chairman of the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee; we are publishing here the passage which comments on current debates concerning the crossroads of Yugoslav federalism.

The question "Yugoslavia, yes, or no?" cannot be put either to the Slovenes or to our other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the current debates of constitutional amendments. There is, however, every right to put the question in those debates: "What should Yugoslavia be like?" It is clear that we cannot commit ourselves to just any Yugoslavia. We can support only those proposals of constitutional amendments which guarantee its socialist future, brotherhood and unity, achievement of life and development together on the principles set down in the 1974 Constitution, and one which entirely respects the full equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the equality of rights and responsibilities of all for their own and joint development in their common state. The federal state built on those principles is also our state, the Slovene state. We have been developing Yugoslavia

together with others as an expression of free and sovereign commitment, which is premised on our right to self-determination, in the joint struggle for freedom and survival so that we would pursue as effectively as possible the interests of life together and also because we are convinced that our own separate ethnic, cultural, and other interests are best protected in that kind of democratic, federal, and socialist community. Which accounts for our sensitivity, not always, it is true, expressed as moderately as it might be, to attempts and desires to threaten our cultural identity, to restrict our definition of the content of education through the joint bases, to impose an "official" language, and so on. All of this is a frequent subject for cynicism of journalists and others to the effect that there is extreme nationalism among the Slovenes. In this state, all its most important functions such as defense and foreign affairs are performed. We are responsible for their performance with respect to material support, personnel, conception, and in every other way, so that no one can feel more responsible than us for their effective performance, modernization, and authority.

### **Without Majority Vote**

And just like we, other nationalities and ethnic minorities also have their views and proposals as to improving the conditions of life together, as to how it will be more successful, how to restore to the joint state reputation and prestige in the world which have been rather diminished, and how to achieve economic stability. But no one—neither we nor they—has the right to pursue his views at the expense of the equal rights of others, just as no one can prevent anyone from making the case for his opinion and expressing it and attempting to bring it about in a democratic debate. That kind of debate cannot simply be referred to as a concession to the pressure of centralism, nor can it be said of those carrying it on that they are continuing the old clerical Slovenian policy of giving in. It is far from true democracy and is rather an expression of ethnic egoism and political demagoguery to assert in advance that the proposals of the other person are centralistic and unitaristic, and then at the same time to expect one's own proposals to be understood. That kind of imposition is, of course, not permitted by our constitutional system, and one of the things for which Slovenes, especially Kardelj in the Yugoslav political leadership at that time, can take credit for is that a system of relations was shaped in the Federation which prevents any nationality from being outvoted when it is a question of its vital interests and prevents the interests of any one part from being imposed as the interest of all of Yugoslavia. It is unnecessary, then, for petty bourgeois nationalism to attempt to fight for that and in future to look upon this as something it deserves credit for. However, we have to persist so that the constitutional amendments do not alter the foundations of relations in the Federation.

What is actually at issue? Yugoslavia is not the conventional federation with a more or less unitarian arrangement, in which the federation, as the joint state, has the

right to assign jurisdictions to federal units and thus define their status. Yugoslavia is a sovereign federation stamped by its multinational character and the particular history of its formation.

It is based on the view that there should be as much independence as possible within the federation, and just as much centralism in the sense of joint performance of functions at the level of the federal state as is necessary in the interest of all. The Yugoslav Federation came into being as the result of the freely expressed will and need of peoples to be united and the realization that they could preserve their independence and guarantee their development only by being united. The logical consequence of that is the constitutional principle that the working people, nationalities, and ethnic minorities exercise their sovereign rights in socialist republics (and in autonomous provinces pursuant to their constitutional rights), while they do so in the Federation only when this is in the common interest as defined by the SFRY Constitution. Thus, relations in the Federation have two essential forms and two levels.

One is the independent arrangement of relations in the republics as self-governed governmental communities, and the other are the common interests that rise above the republic level. Independence is important to arrangement of relations in the republic, and equality is important to regulation of relations at the level of the Federation. That is why proposals for a different division of powers which are constantly being put forth are not only a formality and cannot be separated from decisionmaking procedure on federal powers in the SFRY Assembly. The principle that applies here is that nothing can be imposed by majority vote that constitutes ethnic identity and concerns the vital interest of a nationality!

It is not superfluous to say that the reaching of understanding, i.e., what is called consensus democracy, is becoming more and more important in the processes of democratization of contemporary states. Not only in federal states, but also in unitarian states, very serious critical objections are being made to the absolutization of majority decisionmaking, which, applied within reasonable limits, does in fact have its validity and legitimacy. That is why the general attacks on the principle of consent, not as a formal right of veto, but as a method of reaching understanding and of building a democratic decision concerning the common interests in our Federation, are not only disturbing from the standpoint of equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and their life together, but they are also contrary to progressive democratic and civilizational trends in the present-day world. They also show our inability to discover the true causes of the serious distortion of that principle in practice, which then accentuates demands that it be thrown out as a whole.

No other view would be consistent with the principle accepted by the representatives of the National Liberation forces of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia and

which was formed in the Second Meeting of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia], later to be confirmed and developed in the constitutional documents. It is worth recalling Tito's well-known idea that "the present National Liberation Struggle and the nationality question in Yugoslavia are inseparably linked. Our National Liberation Struggle would not have been so steadfast and effective if the nationalities of Yugoslavia had not seen in it not only a victory over fascism, but also a victory over what the previous regimes represented, a victory over those who oppressed them and who were striving to continue to oppress the nationalities of Yugoslavia. The phrase 'national liberation struggle' would be only rhetoric and even a deception if, in addition to the general Yugoslav meaning, it had not also had an ethnic meaning for each nationality separately, that is, if aside from liberating Yugoslavia, it had not at the same time meant the liberation of the Croats, the Slovenes, the Serbs, the Macedonians, the Shqipetars, the Muslims, and so on, if the National Liberation Struggle had not had the content of authentically signifying freedom, equality, and brotherhood for all the nationalities of Yugoslavia. That is the content of the National Liberation Struggle."

Those facts cannot be diminished even by the conviction, which, to be sure, prevailed for only a short time, that the revolution had finally settled the nationality question and that it was therefore possible to diminish the constitutional institutions protecting the equal position of the nationalities, that is, the republics. If the question is put today of the legitimacy of the constitutional continuity with AVNOJ, the question of the legitimacy of the Slovenian delegation at the Second Meeting of AVNOJ, the legitimacy of the SNOS [Slovenian People's Liberation Council] and other institutions of the National Liberation authorities in Slovenia, then those who put that question must know what the class structure was in the National Liberation Movement in which that power was born and why it signifies discontinuity with the institutions of prewar bourgeois power. The class structure which determined the shape of the revolutionary alliance of the working people—which according to Marx' Manifesto has nothing to lose, but can gain the entire world—imparted to the bodies which were formed in the National Liberation Struggle the character of agencies of the revolutionary power of the people. The leading role of the working class in alliance with all the democratic forces of the Slovenian people was pronounced throughout the entire time of the National Liberation Struggle. There were also specific forms in which class power was expressed in its national liberation and revolutionary democratic elements. The time to put that question was in the summer of 1941, and certainly not in the form of a comfortable and safe academic debate.

It certainly would be shortsighted to ignore that strong revivals of hegemonistic and nationalistic pressures have been deforming the principle on which relations were built in the Federation. Pressures of both kinds have

under the conditions of our reality a sufficiency of objective and subjective foundations and possibilities for expression. One of them is the mindset which gave rise to the old tried and true practice of resolving our economic crises by strengthening government interventionism and centralism, thereby narrowing the independent responsibility of the various self-managed entities in the economy and elsewhere, especially the republics and provinces, for their development and for the development of the entire SFRY, although it is clear that the administration, even at the level of the Federation, can adopt only leveling and restrictive measures that lead to new and ever harsher conflicts. Those are real dangers, and we will encounter them in the process of the constitutional amendments as well. The best answer to them is consistent affirmation of the constitutional principles by implementing them in social practice. Those principles are clear to the people, and they have been accepted in democratic debate.

The work on the new constitutions of Socialist Republic [SR] Slovenia and of the SFRY will be an occasion to try to clarify in the light of relations today certain basic questions—questions which the authors interpret in polemical and theoretical form in their book—on which our Federation has been built and to shape institutional arrangements that will help us to eliminate the causes of the ineffective operation of the federal structure, that is, the inconsistency in carrying out its constitutional conception. Despite this, it is obvious that only a clarification of basic principles will point up the causes of the great differences and disputes—theoretical, structural, and political—which have to do with the very content of those principles. We should also add to this the differing and, recently, ever more frequent and extreme ideological views concerning the constitutional arrangements and indeed even the very foundations of Yugoslavia's birth and character. In working on the constitutions, we should bear in mind all of our experience in dealing with the nationality question and the creation of a joint state, and this will point up the social causes of those differences.

### Why Disputes

If that effort is to be successful, an answer must be given to the question of why at precisely this point there has been so much disputation and attempts in ideology and theory to revise the basic historical facts as to the reasons, the method of formation and character of the SFRY, and as to the interethnic relations in it, its institutions, and decisionmaking mechanisms, as to its sovereignty, the right of peoples to self-determination, including the right to secession and the like. Why indeed is an attempt being made, not for the first time, but more aggressively than ever before, to reshape history and the revolution, especially those of its achievements which are associated with formation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its founding on AVNOJ? Why in general have the recent historical events been one of the most important fronts of political combat? Perhaps all of this

can be explained only by the profound and intolerable long-lasting crisis which beyond doubt has been causing consequences in interethnic relations as well? Or has that pressure been escalating, as it always has up to now, at the moment when major changes are being prepared in our society out of the very fear of a radical and revolutionary social reform?

The pronounced and clearly demonstrated differences in views as to the content and objectives of that reform and as to the very content of future socialism in our country confirm that there are widely differing ideological and political currents in the country arising out of objective historical differences in the level of development, layers of consciousness and ideological formation, pragmatism, and practicalism as social practice, and so on, which make it possible in an increasingly pluralistically structured space to express even all those conceptions which did not accept the development of Yugoslav society through socialist self-management, which has been defined among other places in the 1974 Constitution. We must not close our eyes to these facts and expect that only "pure" conceptions and normative solutions derived from them will obtain consent. The question, that is, is whether we will be able to prove with arguments, experiences, and results that it is necessary to preserve the historically shaped consensus of the majority concerning socialism, self-management, and the federal system for the joint life of the equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, or will that consensus be lost?

It should be recalled in this connection that the constitutional reform in the mid-seventies began as a reform of relations in the Federation, and then quickly demonstrated that it could not be carried out unless there was a simultaneous reform of production relations, unless associated labor was instituted on the basis of social ownership and socialist self-management, unless the material, cultural, and political position of the working people was strengthened, and unless they were given an opportunity to extend their influence to relations in the Federation. In short, without integral socioeconomic and sociopolitical prerequisites, even that part of the system which embraces relations in the Federation cannot function satisfactorily.

None of these questions can be understood at the level of either theory or actuality if they are examined outside the overall socioeconomic and political-ideological context. In that case, as has already happened to us—hasty interventions that have not been calibrated professionally enough are made in the system without a real strategy, often "corrections" are made which have not been reconciled with one another, but are even contradictory, so that then it is no longer possible to speak about a consistent and purposive system. To some extent this also occurred in connection with the recent constitutional amendments, which nevertheless had ambitions of using experience from practice as the basis for altering present relations between bureaucracy and democracy, between statism and self-management, between politics



and economics, between the state and initiatives of citizens, all on behalf of the latter. Those changes are not technically "pure," they are not the fruit of theoretical and concrete analysis. Many of them have been imposed by reality and indeed by the balance of political power, which has caused many more or less consistent proposals of the constitutional commission to be rejected and much that was new to be added, so that it is difficult to speak about an integral and logically rounded system. That is one of the reasons why work on the new constitution should begin immediately.

### The Dilemmas of the Seventies

A political climate has been created in which it is possible to issue a demand to reopen the debate of the basic principles of the Yugoslav community which have been defined by the Constitution on the basis of the AVNOJ commitments and to demand that this community be founded on some new and different principles. That demand is justified by the fact that the Yugoslav community is in crisis and it is not possible to get out of the crisis without essential changes of the fundamental prerequisites on which it was built. And what has been constructive—and there has in the end been more of that than of shortcomings—what we have achieved by affirming the equality and mutual responsibility of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in pursuing many joint interests on the basis of the constitutional principle of reconciliation and consensus of the republics and provinces, is now being proclaimed ineffective, since it does not suit the bureaucratized power of certain federal members. The same dilemmas we confronted in the seventies, dilemmas which are an expression of the same ideologies, political polarizations, and confrontations, are being raised again in the name of assessments which would like to identify with the principles the situation today, which is unsatisfactory beyond question. This is obviously being done on the present-day Yugoslav political scene. It is primarily a question of the well-known argument used as the basis, under the influence of bourgeois theories of the state and law, for attempting to clarify whether Yugoslavia has been developing as a federation or as a confederation and has the Constitution opened up the way to its disintegration? Advocates of these positions, out of a desire to express disagreement with Yugoslavia as it exists, with its Constitution, and with the direction of its historical development, forget that the life of even bourgeois political states in the world—federations and confederations—have fundamentally altered the content of those terms. They also ignore the fact that our nationalities and ethnic minorities voluntarily agreed, as an expression of their free will, as to the kind of state community and the kind of mutual relations in which they wanted to live. There is greater independence of the nationalities in such a community, but at the same time it serves as the basis for their equality, and the process of their integration is also much broader.

In this context, the question is often raised of the so-called continuity of AVNOJ, and a demand is made

to correct deviations which allegedly have occurred. In essence it is a question of disputing the present constitutional conception of our Federation which was built on AVNOJ principles. That question pertains to the past, not to the present or to the future, especially when it is put along with the question of the historical legitimacy and justifiability of the existence of certain republics and provinces, that is, of the equal rights of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the SFRY. It is on that basis that nationalism is running rampant in its unitarian—even hegemonistic and indeed separatist—variant, which more and more is taking hold of all the parts of our homeland.

Nationalism is again being used as a weapon against socialist self-management and against the SFRY. The reference is to an extensive intellectual output by literature, history, and linguistics, indeed all the way to religion, which is not only distorting historical facts, but is even performing outright service for a policy which wants a different Yugoslavia, a "third" Yugoslavia, or some other kind of Yugoslavia.

We cannot look for solutions to the serious problems of Yugoslavia today by turning to the past and in that way constantly raising those same questions to which we have already given persuasive answers in our life together. That kind of rewriting of history is meant to serve pragmatic political interests and ideological commitments today. More productive than disputes about the past is a creative debate, even if it be full of conflict, about solutions which can take us out of the crisis and which guarantee a free and comprehensive development of each of our nationalities and altogether, which was precisely the main reason for coming together into a common state. From AVNOJ up to this very day, relations within our community have been developing and changing as a function of society's overall development, but there has always been a firm continuity with respect to the fundamental commitments. It is true that the continuity has not been so pronounced when it comes to the institutional forms through which those fundamental commitments are to be implemented. Those forms have undergone change as a function of the conditions and problems which had to be solved in society's development. It is obvious that a debate about the functioning of federal bodies and about possible institutional changes in the structure of the federal system is possible only after clarification of the ideological platforms which differently interpret the very constitutional conception of the Federation. And it is precisely those platforms which receive a great deal of space in the book by Dr Ribicic and Dr Tomac. Because of differences in the platforms on which they are premised, the proposals on how to guarantee effective functioning of federal authorities are contradictory and mismatched. The slowness today of the process of reaching agreement in the Federation, the pressure to alter the procedure for decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and provinces, which is defined in the Constitution, by giving their



executive bodies the right to bargain, is, for example, the basis for proposals to abolish this essential principle in decisionmaking. That would be to neglect that consensus and joint decisionmaking concerning the vital interests of the nationalities that live in the multinational and democratically arranged community are the natural form for achieving and guaranteeing equality in decisionmaking concerning the joint interests which bind together the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. This is an extremely delicate matter which is dangerous not only to Yugoslavia's socialist future, but also to its stability as a state.

### **The Realm of Necessity or the Realm of Freedom**

It is very important in the life of a nationality that it have a sense of freedom and equality and a sense of security that nothing can frustrate it in its comprehensive creative affirmation, in its free disposition of the conditions and resources necessary to that affirmation. If it does not have that freedom, no nationality can develop its own national superstructure, the material foundations of its social life, science, technology, and culture, it cannot guide development of the productive forces, anticipate its own future, and establish ties of every kind on an equal footing with other nationalities in the Yugoslav community and outside it. The ethnic freedom and economic independence of the nationality are the condition and the basis of the association and linkage of nationalities and also a deepening of their equality in present-day social developments.

The nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia can regulate their relations only on these principles, so that the very structure of a socialist self-managed society, a uniform system of socioeconomic and political relations, a unified market, the free flow of goods, ideas, and people, liberated civic initiative, guaranteed protection of human rights and the international political position and the position of each of them and of all together in the SFRY in the past and still more today, along with the

other interests in life together, guide them toward the fullest possible mutual linkage and cooperation within the Yugoslav federal community. The unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities cannot be based solely on an economic reckoning, but rather they are linked together first of all by a common progressive consciousness achieved in the revolution and joint struggle for a self-managed democratic socialist society, a common history and destiny, and common interests of defense, independence, and freedom in this unsettled part of the world. So long as those interests are guaranteed by the equal position of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the totality of social relations, within that community there will be no threat of danger to the destiny of Yugoslavia, which the unitarists are so worried about today, nor to the sovereignty of the individual nationalities, of which the nationalists and separatists are so afraid. Kardelj had this to say about it: "If it does not become clear to us that socialism is what unifies Yugoslavia, then no other factor can do so, and when I say socialism, I am referring to social progress on the basis of socialism."

The question of the Yugoslav Federation today, then, is above all the question of the conception of Yugoslav socialism of the future, that is, of our joint ability to make that new reflection about socialism not merely a correction of its previous forms that arose within materially and spiritually underdeveloped societies, but a new conception that will be based on the achievements of present-day civilization—material, technological, scientific, informational, cultural, and so on, which will be able to take those results and adapt them and give them a content of emancipation and humanism, which is the essential defining content of a socialist society in its movement from relations deep within the "realm of necessity" toward the relations characteristic of the "realm of freedom." If we take this approach as our point of departure, all the issues of Yugoslav federalism, which are unquestionably complicated, can be resolved more easily.

## BULGARIA

### Renovation of Balkan Airline Equipment

22000058 Sofia *IKONOMIKA in Bulgarian*  
Jan 89 pp 104-108

[Article by Tatyana Popova: "Economic Efficiency of Renovation of Aircraft Fleet in Air Transport"]

[Text] Upgrading the economic efficiency in transport activities is one of the basic and permanent tasks in Bulgarian air transport. During the 9th 5-year period the need to solve it increased drastically, for the air transportation process has entirely directed to intensive development.

Taking into consideration the level of maturity reached by socialist production relations in the airline, as well as the technical improvements in the means of production at its disposal, it could be said that one of the most important factors in upgrading the efficiency of air transport is the practical utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements. The efficient use of the available possibilities concerning scientific and technical progress will ensure a substantial increase in the efficiency of air transportation.

Scientific and technical progress is not a circumstantial phenomenon but an objective law of global development, caused by the expanding scientific and technical revolution which is providing new dimensions for quantitative and qualitative technical and economic indicators and has a comprehensive influence on all areas of social life.

Scientific publications<sup>1</sup> explain scientific progress as the discovery of new laws, phenomena and features of our environment and mastery of the ways and means of their transformation to the benefit of man. Technical progress is described as "... improving the means of production and technological methods for their application."<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, scientific and technical progress is a process of uninterrupted improvement and qualitative transformation of all areas of material production. This means the creation of new and more productive labor tools, materials and raw materials, the use of new types of energy, natural resources and progressive technologies, and increased technical production facilities.

The contribution of scientific and technical progress to civil aviation is a determining feature, for it is one of the science-intensive production facilities in which problems of the efficient application and use of scientific and technical achievements are not only one of the most important and topical problems but could also be considered the main trend in upgrading its production efficiency. Its acceleration is a basic means of achieving the main objective of our airline: the comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the national economy and the

population for international and domestic transportation and high quality specialized services. It is precisely the application of the latest scientific and technical achievements that will guarantee that this objective can be achieved with high efficiency of aviation services. This means increasing the contribution of Bulgarian air transport to foreign exchange earned by the country and its conversion into a hub of international air traffic.

The updating of aircraft is one of the basic trends in scientific and technical progress, aimed at upgrading the efficiency of the air transportation process. Its priority status is dictated by some of the following more important reasons:

- a. The updating of the air fleet has a comprehensive influence on the efficiency of transportation activities;
- b. Its significant physical and moral obsolescence;
- c. The existence of a technologically perfect fleet of airplanes ensures the comprehensive satisfaction of the steadily increasing needs of the population and the national economy for air transportation services. This means that such an air fleet will have great freight and passenger capacity and will be flexible in terms of transportation needs which arise at any given moment, that it will be reliable, comfortable, and so on;
- d. The efficiency of air transportation largely depends on the structure of basic production assets. Their size will increase faster with the faster increase in their active part which is actually the base for transportation output, compared to passive capital assets which merely provide the necessary conditions for the normal development of the transport production process.

The influence of these reasons on the need for updating the aircraft fleet is directly related to upgrading the quantitative results of labor, which finds its concentrated manifestation in higher labor productivity and the more economical use of material resources in air transportation—fuel, materials, spare parts, etc.

The renovation of the fleet of aircraft of Bulgarian Civil Aviation has been taking place for quite some time. This pace of renovation has been the reason for its great physical wear-out. This is confirmed by a survey of the basic models of airplanes used by the Balkan airlines at present: TU-154, TU-154M, TU-134, IL-18 and AN-24, for passenger transportation, and AN-12 for cargo. These airplanes (with the exception of the TU-154M) have been used for a long time, and most of them must be written off because of their physical wear and impossibility of further use.

At present, the maintenance of airplanes requires greater expenditures for repairs of some models, compared to stipulations. This leads to violations of one of the basic requirements concerning the efficiency of the use of labor tools: repair costs must not exceed the cost of new aircraft.

That is why at the present stage, with the fast penetration of scientific and technical progress in all areas, it becomes necessary to accelerate the updating of the airplanes used by our airline in accordance with the latest achievements in this area. Such renovation will result in the total elimination of the negative trends we pointed out. It will upgrade the competitiveness of our airline on the international aviation market and, in the final account, will upgrade the efficiency of Bulgarian air transportation activities.

The use of scientific and technical progress in civil aviation, in terms of the updating of the airplane fleet depends on the economic possibilities of our country and the Balkan Airline, the specific needs of the population and the national economy for air transport and the condition of the operational aircraft.

These basic prerequisites, added to secondary ones, determine the extent to which we can eliminate a certain lagging which still exists in this respect.

The updating of the airplane fleet can be considered from two different aspects:

- a. Replacing currently used physically worn airplanes with new ones of the same model;
- b. Replacing the airplanes currently used with new-generation airplanes.

The problems related to the choice of the type of flying equipment, the structure of the airplane fleet and, not least, their number are of exceptional importance. The proper solution of such problems will enable our air transport to make efficient use of all of its production resources. This will inevitably result in its efficient functioning.

As to the new models of airplanes which will begin to be used starting with the next 5-year period, the main passenger transportation model for medium-length distances will be the new generation TU-204 airliner. It will be a low-noise airplane with a capacity for 214 passengers at a cruising speed equal that of the TU-154M (800-900 km per hour), but with a 50-percent lower fuel consumption. Furthermore, other new modern transportation airplanes<sup>3</sup> will be used: the IL-96-300 and IL-114, for domestic use. The IL-96-300 airbus has a flight range of 11,000 km, a cruising speed of 850-900 km per hour and a flight altitude of 9-13 km. The IL-114 can transport 60 passengers at a speed of 500 km per hour, flying at an altitude of 6-8 km and with a practical range of 2,850 km.

Upgrading the efficiency of transportation after putting to regular use the new models of aircraft can be illustrated with the following example: If TU-204 airplanes are used on the regular international Sofia-London route, over a distance of 4,480 km, instead of the TU-134, flying at a speed of 750 km per hour, with the same number of flights and full load of each airplane, our airline will be able to transport three times the number of passengers. Furthermore, the flight time of the passengers will be shorter and, with the fuel saved by flying a TU-204, an additional flight in either direction becomes possible.

All of this leads us to the conclusion that in order to upgrade the efficiency of transport activities we must update the airplane fleet by using new models of airplanes, consistent with the world trend of scientific and technical progress in airplane manufacturing. Economically they must be based on new technologies in the areas of aerodynamics and design and the use of advancements in the areas of electronics and automation; in terms of the noise level, emission of gases and air control, they must be consistent with requirements of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) for 1990-1995.

The updating of the air fleet is not a self-seeking aim of our airline. It always leads to a higher efficiency in transportation as a result of reduced amortizations and, furthermore, all other conditions being equal, a lowering of material intensiveness in air transport.

The mechanism through which the updating of the airplane fleet influences transport efficiency can be successfully traced through changes in transportation costs.

The introduction of new models of airplanes, the price of which is significantly higher than the models currently used, leads to higher amortizations in the cost of air transportation. This increase is related both to the higher initial cost of the new models as well as their higher amortization rates. All other conditions being equal, as a result of the increased amount of expenditures, in this specific case of the means of production, the cost per unit transported item increases, which automatically lowers the efficiency of transport activities. In reality, in the practice of airlines, the renovation of the airplane fleet is most frequently related to the use of aircraft which can haul a higher number of passengers and greater loads, i.e., which have a greater number of seats and lower fuel consumption, greater reliability, comfort, and so on. This means that upgrading efficiency in air transport as a result of the updating of the airplane fleet by adding new-generation airplanes will be achieved by upgrading the fuel consumption of the airplanes, which is an indicator characterizing fuel consumption per unit of transported goods; the productivity of flights by using airplanes with greater passenger and cargo capacity compared to existing models, with minimal changes in cruising speed; lowering the cost of repairs, technical maintenance and spare parts, which lead to a reduction in the



item "other monetary expenditures;" and the installation of aviation equipment whose productivity increases faster than its cost.

All this leads to the fact that the renovation of the airplane fleet leads to changes in the values of not a single but of all items in computing the cost of air transportation. The reason is that the use of scientific and technical progress leads to the saturation of the transportation process with a larger number of past (material) labor and a lesser amount of current labor, i.e., the ratio between labor and materials changes. For that reason upgrading the efficiency of transportation will greatly depend on the more efficient use of materials in the production of transportation output, such as ensuring the fuller loading of the airplanes in either direction, for which perfecting the forms of integration and upgrading the role of the agencies of the BGA SO is of substantial importance.

#### Footnotes

1. O. Yakovets, "Cyclical Nature of Scientific and Technical Progress," *OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI*, Moscow, No 1, 1985.

2. Ibid.

3. Data from the technical prospects of Aviaekspert for the TU-204, IL-96-300 and IL-114 models.

**Solving Economic Mechanism Contradictions**  
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[Article by Professor Dr Zhak Aroyo: "The Economic Mechanism: Contradictions and Ways of Solving Them"]

[Text] The current economic mechanism used in ensuring the functioning and management of the national economy was introduced in our country as recently as 1 year ago. Some of its elements were even included later while others were applied only partially. Furthermore, no sufficient economic conditions were created for meeting many of its requirements. This is explained by the stress experienced by the economy, the fact that "existing situations" remained left from the preceding period, and by the tasks of the 5-year state plan. Naturally, under these circumstances the economic mechanism could not make full use of its positive aspects or highlight the contradictions within it. It is still too early to assess its basic failures and successes and to draw general conclusions from them, or to hasten in the search for and implementation of deeper changes within it. This does not mean, however, that we must passively wait for a certain amount of time to elapse before it begins to act (the end of the 5-year period), in order to see its final and practically tried results and only then contemplate the necessary corrections. A number of phenomena and processes related to the existing economic mechanism

can and must be analyzed as of now in order to be subjected to further tests, to seek the reasons for failures and, whenever possible, eliminate them and thus provide scope for its positive aspects. Such is also the meaning of this article in which some aspects of the economic mechanism applied in the national economy are analyzed.

1. As we know, more essential changes in the economic mechanism in our country were undertaken as early as the beginning of the 1980's, when the economic approach to managing the national economy was formulated and ways and means of its practical application were sought. The purpose of this change was to replace the strongly centralized administrative-bureaucratic management of the economy, which had made clear its major shortcomings, with a mechanism based on essentially opposite foundations. The task was, with the help of the new mechanism for the functioning and management of the national economy, to make it consistent with the objective requirements inherent in socialism, particularly in the contemporary stage in its development. At the same time, a more immediate task was to solve or, at least, to contribute to the solution of a number of aggravating contradictions in the then existing economy: increasing shortages; worsened imbalance in the correlation among sectors, subsectors and production lines; developing decline in the rates of economic growth; and worsening of capital returns, material intensiveness and efficiency. There was hope that by changing the economic mechanism the many negative social manifestations existing in the country would be eliminated, such as the alienation of the working people from the means of production, their indifference in production, their passiveness and lack of initiative and the lack of interest which would encourage the development and advancement of production processes.

The introduction of an economic approach to management yielded positive results and proved the accuracy of the chosen method but did not lead to a solution of contradictions within the economy. It became clear that both the idea (the "philosophy") of the introduced economic approach in management as well as the developed mechanism for its implementation had unclear aspects and faulty or not entirely successful elements. The period of its application became a period of refining the idea and developing it, as well as a time for seeking new solutions for its practical application. Gradually the realization developed of the need for change, and the outline of such a change appeared. The idea of an economic approach was extended and took shape as an essentially new integral system of economic functioning and management. The main feature of this process was the realization of the need for and the decisive and profound nature of the reform which had to be made and the formulation of its essential elements.

The new aspects in the area of the economic mechanism as we entered the second half of the 1980's could be formulated in terms of three interrelated and mutually

supplementing elements (or principles): self-management, economic control based on a centrally formulated strategy, and a market relation among independent commodity producers. The application of these elements presumes, first of all, centralized management of the national economy but, unlike the view which was held until recently about this process, considered only as a system for formulating national economic targets, structuring the state's economic policy and creating economic conditions for the functioning of the national economy and for ensuring the most general coordination and balancing of the economy. This is essentially distinct from the nature and forms of direct or operative central management of the national economy. Second, developing the market functions as a factor in the ties among production subjects and a regulator and stimulator of production processes. Third, achieving a relatively complete economic autonomy and full cost accounting of basic economic units guided in their activities by self-management principles.

The correct understanding of the major role ascribed to the market was of essential significance in determining the nature of the new features in the economic functioning and management mechanism, for this also establishes the connection among the individual commodity producers and the influence of the center on their activities. The market thus becomes the binding link in the national economy and a factor in establishing unity between the two basic principles of the economic mechanism: self-management and economic control. In the implementation of such functions by the market, today, conventionally speaking, a number of classical market mechanisms become significant and will be used energetically, thus making it a direct regulatory feature of production ratios, on the basis of direct free competition among thousands of producers. Currently it is less a question of the manifestation and the functions of the market under the conditions of high production socialization, characteristic of the monopoly stage of capitalism and state-monopoly capitalism as well as socialism, when priority is given to domestic monopoly and international competition, while the means for its implementation significantly change their traditional aspect.

The focusing of attention on the use of the classical forms of competition among commodity producers should, at the present stage in our development, be considered a temporary phenomenon, the immediate task of which is to assist in the faster surmounting of certain elements of stagnation in economics and ownership. To this effect, the emphasis is on setting up small enterprises, cooperatives and leasing and contracting groups and individual production, as well as the use of other forms through which to increase the number of economic subjects and activate the national economy, create a competitive situation and develop an interest in producers in expanding their output. In reality, the functions of the market do not apply exclusively to these relatively smaller commodity producers and its major role in the socialist economy is not reduced to them

alone. Its field of action encompasses the entire national economy, in which it plays the function of basic regulator and stimulator of public production. That is why reforms affecting the basic market sectors are of more substantial and longer range significance: material and technical procurements, wholesale trade and international trade. In those areas, however, market relations are changing even more slowly and not comprehensively, as a result of which the functions of the market as well are manifested quite inadequately. This, however, is a crucial aspect of the reform.

The other principles of the new economic mechanism need further clarification as well: they are self-management and economic control. For example, all subjects of self-management have not been entirely determined. For the time being, they are limited and reduced mainly to one basic unit: the enterprise. However, is the enterprise the only necessary thing for the economy? Nor have the limits of self-management, inherent in the basic socialist economic organization, been entirely defined. Proceeding from the principles of the reform, self-management should be full, to the extent to which the economic organization will bear full responsibility for managing the means of production assigned to it and will function on the basis of full cost accounting. The implementation of this principle does not allow any kind of administrative interference by a governmental or municipal authority in the functioning of the basic economic unit. The activities of the enterprise-commodity producer should be regulated exclusively with economic instruments and on the basis of regulated economic conditions. Actually, however, conditions for the full manifestation of such basic principles in the activities of economic organizations and in the functioning of the national economy have not been set. Why? Is it on the basis of principles or practical considerations? Furthermore, the views of economists—both scientists and practical workers—do not show total unanimity on such radical problems of the manifestation and functioning of the national economy.

The formulation of the principles on which the economic mechanism is based is both important and necessary. It is a prerequisite for its proper practical establishment and application. The incomplete clarity of these principles in terms of a number of basic and initial aspects is also the reason for some of the contradictions manifested today by the mechanism. However, the factor influencing such contradictions is found not only in them but also in the management subjects, which concretize and convert the principles into rules of action and practical standards governing economic activities. Actually, what has been the result of the effect of such factors and what assessment could be made about the mechanism based on them?

Proceeding from the operating regulations and, above all, the practice of taking them into consideration, the conclusion may be drawn that the old system of issuing directives in national economic management has been

retained, minus a few functions, thus benefiting self-management and economic control. An essential and overall change has virtually not occurred so far. For the time being, elements of directives and economic management are mechanically and, to a certain extent, eclectically combined in the current regulations governing economic activities. Centralized administrative management methods are still having a determining significance. The proof of this will be provided later. However, it will not be necessary, for such assessments have been officially proclaimed as well. This situation is justified by the requirements of the transitional period from the old to the new system of economic functioning and the difficulties facing the economy. Let us circumvent the question of the content of the transitional period and whether it should be expressed in the simultaneous effect of the elements of the old and the new management system within the individual economic units, something which triggers major objections. Let us equally bypass the question of difficulties: Should we delay the introduction of the new management principles or, conversely, apply the new principles in order to eliminate difficulties? Our attention will be directed on some essential problems of the economic reform.

2. The development of a corresponding organizational structure of the national economy is the foundation for the introduction of the new economic management principles. This was actually the first thing which we did after establishing the principles of the reform. This was accompanied by the clarification of some problems of ownership, its internal organization, the means of its use and the abundance of forms in which it is manifested. Nonetheless, no total clarity concerning the specific organizational forms needed for the implementation of the reform could be achieved.

One of the achievements in the development of the organizational structure of the national economy was the formulation of its principles, which were drastically different from the previous ones. They are the following: a one-step system, the requirement that the basic economic unit be a separate commodity producer, voluntary unification and merger of basic units, developing the organizational structure from the bottom up, and determining all the functions of the units other than the basic one, either autonomously or jointly with associated enterprises, and so on. Such principles accurately reflect the requirements of self-management and are a base for developing an accurate organizational structure.

However, a rather hasty approach was adopted in establishing the organizational structure of the national economy in violation of some of its fundamental principles. Trusts and associations were not established on a voluntary basis and their essential functions were in fact regulated from the center. The entire structure assumed a stereotyped aspect similar to the preceding structures, which became the main prerequisite for the initial transferring of the old functions to the newly established

organizations. This led to the appearance of contradictions in the functions of the economic organizations and in relations among them. Some such contradictions are the following:

The enterprise was declared the basic economic unit and was to function on the basis of full cost accounting and establish directly financial relations with the state, the banks and the other enterprises. Actually, the enterprise was quite limited in the exercise of such functions by the essentially mandatory nature of the determining portion of the plan indicators of its activities (in the guise of state orders for some enterprises or under the influence of so-called priorities in the case of others), the lack of enterprise accumulations (so far and still the accumulation funds are limited, until recently amortization funds were appropriated by the state and it has been stipulated that no amortization withholdings will be made for worn out assets), the many functions regulating the activities of associations, the existence of many losing or subsidized production facilities, etc.

Contradictions appeared also in connection with the functions of the trusts. These organizations were proclaimed as voluntarily developed structures by the enterprises, the purpose of which was to perform enterprise activities, specifically those which the enterprises themselves could not perform. Actually, however, today the trusts perform a number of functions of superior organizations, such as in the areas of planning, assignment of state orders, determining rates governing the payroll fund, foreign exchange resources, price setting, and so on. The trusts acquired the function of being the only ones to discuss problems with the Ministry of Economics and Planning on behalf of the enterprises. They also redistribute a significant portion of enterprise accumulations.

The establishment of associations as well triggered contradictions. It was proclaimed that they were being developed in accordance with the wish of the economic organizations and will contribute to the formulation of their strategy and coordinate their activities within the sectorial or intersectorial complex and regulate some essential aspects of their participation in the international division of labor. The enterprises, however, did not gain an interest in the activities of the associations which, in a number of respects, proved to be unnecessary.

Let us add to this that the establishment of societies, through which some of the contradictions among and within enterprises could be resolved is currently taking place on a formal basis and does not always lead to real positive results.

Some of the contradictions, related to the established organizational structure of the national economy, are caused also by some imperfections in the idea itself. It is stipulated, for example, that the Ministry of Economics and Planning will engage in a so-called dialogue with the



enterprises. However, there are thousands of enterprises and the ministry is unable to perform this function. The concentration of some enterprises is low and they do not have the possibility of accumulations and self-financing of expanded reproduction. In a number of cases the autonomy of the enterprises is not synchronized with the efficiency of the economic regulators. Associations and trusts are assigned specific tasks the implementation of which requires them to have power over the enterprises, although such a power has not been officially regulated.

What should be done in order to surmount such contradictions? Above all, we must totally eliminate stereotype and standardization in organizing the structure of the national economy. The enterprise criterion should be not its size or concentration or else number of subdivisions or number of workers but exclusively its quality as a separate commodity producer, the existence within it of a closed production cycle and totally independent circulation of production assets. As the basic economic organizations, the enterprises may include plants, combines, production or scientific-production trusts, cooperatives, stockholding societies and individual organizations. The only thing which defines them is their function as separate and independent commodity producers.

It is of essential significance to end any interference by the state in the establishment of trusts, associations and other forms of enterprise associations. Such entities should be created only where necessary, on the basis of economic rather than administrative considerations. It is not necessary for the large and highly concentrated enterprises always to be parts of trusts; this would be more expedient in the case of medium-sized and small enterprises but also not always. Some trusts may be established also as separate commodity producers should this serve the interest of the enterprises. Some medium-sized or small enterprises could function within larger ones without losing their basic autonomy. Generally speaking, we need the opportunity and freedom of creating any kind of shape of enterprises providing that this can facilitate economic activities. The organizational structure of the national economy should be adapted not to the needs of the governmental administrative authorities, as was the case in the past, but exclusively to economic necessity and expediency.

It is particularly important to provide opportunities for the appearance and utilization of new organizational forms on the basis of cooperation, leasing, shareholding, and so on. This must lead to the creation of specific forms of ownership and possession and the development of new and strong interests among producers. This leads to the creation of new motive forces which are greatly needed by our society.

3. The main contradiction in the mechanism of national economic functioning and management today is the lack of proper synchronizing, unity of action and interconnection among economic regulators. This is a very essential aspect, for it is the effect of such regulators that determines, in the final account, the efficiency of the adopted management system.

As we know, there are many and different economic regulators. Most of them are value regulatory agents and function through the market and each one of them is under the influence of objective economic prerequisites and laws and performs specific functions. Some economic regulators are autonomous while others are interlinked. Frequently their requirements may be conflicting but they are always interdependent. The change in one regulator entails the need for changes in other. Their task is to create a certain interest in producers, to motivate them, to interest them and to force them economically to increase output and its efficiency and make it consistent with the requirements of the national economic plan. This result may be manifested only if the regulators have unity of action, if they are "hitting" the same target and if they are completely synchronized. In itself, any one of the regulators may be ideal and consistent with the objective requirements and fulfill its functions. However, unless it is synchronized with the other, it will provoke opposite actions and contradictions within the enterprise. Such synchronizing of economic regulators in our economy has still not been achieved, for which reason one of the basis elements of the mechanism—economic control—is still not functioning at full capacity. In turn, this makes its other elements (or principles) powerless. Specifically, this feature is manifested as follows:

Price is the basic economic regulator of decisive importance in the functioning of the entire economic mechanism. Prices determine the income of the enterprise and, therefore, its profits and its accumulation and consumption funds. In the final account, it also determines the wage of every participant in the production process in a given enterprise. The price contains the basic interest of the working people. If it is improperly structured, usually all other regulators become distorted.

One of the most decisive and profound changes was made with the latest economic reform in prices and price setting in our country. It is true that the reform has not been achieved as yet in practical terms, at least not entirely. However, it has been considered, prepared and partially implemented. Its purpose is to eliminate the calculated-outlay system used in price setting, the negative consequences of which are familiar and unquestionable, and to remove the prerequisites for subjectivism in price setting. The reform calls for making the correlation among wholesale prices consistent with similar correlations in world prices. To this effect a method specifically adapted to our conditions was developed, and used in eliminating some of the negative consequences of the adopted principles. The price reform has been applied partially and, for the time being, covers a small percentage of goods but will not affect retail prices. This, as well as the factors governing the very essence of the reform, creates contradictions in economics and management. Some of the more essential among them may be reduced to the following:

The prices set on the basis of the new method are still unrelated to the average national cost of production of

the goods. In some economic sectors, particularly those influenced by natural or other objective factors, this adversely affects the interests of producers and, hence, the motive forces of the economy. At the same time, the profits based on such prices from production in individual sectors and subsectors are not synchronized with the necessary accumulations, making possible the planned structural and other changes in the economy. In frequent cases profits turn out to be relatively lower where more accumulations are needed for updating equipment and production facilities, and vice versa. Nor does the reform eliminate the two different price levels established in our country. This largely deprives the market of the possibility of directly influencing commodity producers. The stipulated contracting for specific prices among commodity producers is not and cannot be applied, for under the present condition of the market, prices are dictated almost exclusively by the producers, who are interested in raising them. For the time being, the economy does not provide real opportunities for competition through which we can eliminate the adverse consequences of the actual monopoly exercised by the producers. The hope that prices will be dictated by the competition among the various parties on the market and that funds (capital) will be moved among sectors and production facilities remains entirely unattainable for the time being.

The solution of such contradictions is sought in delaying the full implementation of the price reform, linking the prices of certain commodities to corresponding state subsidies, easing some tax obligations at the expense of other, their partial correction in accordance with production costs, and so on. However, it is thus that subjectivism strongly penetrates the area of price setting. There is a real danger that contradictions in prices may be strongly aggravated and block the entire reform of the economic mechanism. Both domestic and foreign experience indicate that the greatest dangers in the economy are found in price setting errors. In what area should we seek a solution to price-related problems?

For the time being, the experience of not a single one of the socialist countries engaged in economic reforms can provide a categorical answer to this question. Conversely, it indicates the existence of many sharp contradictions in the price area, which lead to profound disturbances in the economy. Theoretical studies as well do not lead to categorical and confirmed decisions. Under such circumstances it would be expedient, in our view, to seek the answer in the following basic areas:

The need for a correlation among commodity prices to come closer to the respective correlations on the world markets remains valid. The experience of all countries in the world indicates its expediency. Also correct is the specific method for the implementation of this process, for it creates the possibility of accepting the type of correlations which are the most consistent with our country's economy. This process, however, must be limited. Despite its expediency, it neither could nor should be comprehensive. The practical experience of all

countries throughout the world—capitalist and socialist—indicates that certain and frequently substantial differences remain between national and international prices. Actually, this stipulation applies only to the legal documents, for in practice, for the time being, it reflects the actual situation in the country. In our view, agricultural commodities (purchase prices), construction, transportation, and so on, should be made totally independent of the international base on which prices are set. In their case we should adopt another price setting method, related, above all, to average national expenditures for the production of the respective commodities, in which some of the prices are set on a centralized basis, making use of stronger democratic principles. This should also largely apply to the products of the extraction industry whenever local (Bulgarian) national conditions are worse than those elsewhere in the world.

Retail prices as well must be corrected. In the course of time a number of deformations have accumulated in price correlations, which create difficulties in production and trade. We must also introduce new price setting principles which would eliminate the two different price levels. Wholesale prices must become the base of retail prices with proper trade mark-ups. The necessary corrections as well should be made on the thus created base, required by social and market considerations. Thus, retail prices will become a specific factor of wholesale prices and their dynamics will be directly reflected in the interests of commodity producers. The market will become a direct production regulator.

Naturally, it is necessary to put to practical use many of the stipulations included in the adopted rules pertaining to the democratization of price setting. It is a question above all of applying a contractual base in price setting, which will create prerequisites for a greater dynamism in prices, taking more into consideration market conditions, including supply and demand, etc. Many of these rules are difficult to observe because of the still unsatisfied needs and the diktat exerted by producers on the market. However, we must intensively seek ways for their actual implementation.

A radical change was made in the area of financial regulatory agents as well. Taxes on resources were introduced and a step was taken toward establishing uniform tax rates. Some of the rates were improved. The use of the system of financial regulators, however, indicated the lack of adequate synchronizing among the individual taxes and between them and the other economic regulators. The short period of application of the tax system does not provide the opportunity to draw categorical conclusions concerning its condition. Nonetheless, it indicates some trends on the basis of which certain conclusions can be drawn.

It is commonly accepted that an added value tax should be introduced, replacing the current turnover tax. The added value tax creates prerequisites for eliminating the

two price levels and establishing a more accurate correlation between them. These are major advantages in favor of that tax. However, nor should we invest excessive hope in its use. This tax is important only if it has a price setting function. With our price setting system, however, it could not fulfill this role, which would strongly limit its significance in terms of the national economy. This must be taken into consideration. The introduction of this tax must be directly synchronized with the price setting system.

Nor were the hopes entirely justified as a result of the introduction of the so-called resource taxes. In our view, the main reason is the vagueness of such taxes. Their introduction was based on a single factor: to stimulate resource conservation. This is justified but insufficient. Resource taxes are related to the nature of economic relations and, more directly, relations of ownership which develop within the enterprises. The fixed assets of state enterprises are the property of society as a whole and their separate use should have an economic manifestation: The enterprises must pay for them. However, this process must be carefully synchronized with the other taxes, which are also used for purposes of the economic manifestation of ownership, albeit indirectly. This, however, was not done. Furthermore, the tax on fixed capital was not limited only to production resources as such, which was economically unjustified. The tax on enterprise working capital conflicts with the nature of production relations related to them, to the extent to which they are "personal."

The profit tax should become the basic economic regulator of enterprise activities, for which reason the means used for determining it is of substantial importance. It should be synchronized with the system of income distribution and determination of the payroll fund. With a greater autonomy of the enterprises, which is included in the self-management system, the profit tax should be closely synchronized with control over the net income or the consumption income of the enterprise. In this situation, it should have gradually higher rates. However, that should apply after a certain rather high level has been reached. Its function is to create the possibility of developing a sufficiently high profit which can be used as a source of enterprise accumulations and also regulate the consumption income in such a way as not to eliminate its stimulating nature.

As to the establishment of the internal enterprise funds, the regulations governing them should be formulated by the enterprise. The mistrust of the enterprises, expressed in largely regulating the system used to establish such profit funds, is groundless and violates their autonomy and self-management. It would be expedient to formulate only some more general requirements pertaining to the correlation between the dynamics of the wage fund and that of labor productivity within the framework of the enterprise.

Nor was another financial regulator—foreign exchange—given its most accurate settlement. On the surface, the self-support of the enterprises in foreign currency is most fully consistent with the self-governing of economic organizations. Actually, however, attempts at applying this regulator have led to the appearance of a number of contradictions and it remains practically unused. We are familiar with the contradictions in this area: Frequently, using foreign exchange earnings, enterprises which can accumulate foreign exchange resources do not need them, or vice versa. In order to correct this situation, foreign exchange relations should be based on a specific mechanism which makes use of the system of foreign exchange withholdings and bonuses for earning such foreign exchange.

The stockholding form of attracting funds to meet enterprise needs is another element of the enterprise financial system. For the time being, it is still not being used and there is much lack of clarity as to its nature. In the majority of cases, the shareholding form is considered as separate from the socialist system of production relations within which it would eventually operate. Elements alien to socialism and exploitative in nature are seen in it. For that reason it is being rejected or, if accepted, the suggestion is to use it with numerous restrictions, mainly in terms of bearer stock, noninheritable, without the possibility of resale of so-called labor shares. Naturally, a certain use may be derived from the floating of such stock which is more like borrowing funds from the workers in a given enterprise. However, it is still remote from the possibilities which are encompassed in the shareholding form of attracting funds, their concentration and their productive use. Our economy needs a strongly developed system for the use of the stockholding form in order to achieve a full harnessing of national resources and concentrate the means of production, under the influence of the market, in sectors, subsectors and enterprises which can satisfy the needs of society expressed through the market. However, we must bear in mind that the introduction of shareholding in setting enterprise funds requires a corresponding system of prices and means for showing a profit. For the time being, such prerequisites are not to be found in our national economy, for which reason the introduction of stockholding, including so-called labor stock, would be premature and useless and, in some respects, even detrimental. We must begin by providing economic prerequisites which will enable the efficient functioning of this form and only after that, or along with it, introduce the form itself.

One of the most sensitive elements of the economic mechanism is that of wages set by the enterprises. Changes have been made in this area, as a result of which some contradictions in the economy, typical of the recently used systems for forming the wage fund and individual wages, have been eliminated. The systems governing the wages of working people were simplified and standardized. However, this does not solve the main contradictions in this area. The establishment of the



wage fund as a percentage of the general income (net output) is unsuccessful from both the theoretical and practical viewpoints. The reason is that the rate is greatly differentiated and, in the final account, is established on an individual basis, which conflicts with the basic principles of the economic mechanism. Furthermore, it is set by the trusts. This essentially makes the trusts the superior organizations. A system was sought through which efficiently to combine the residual principle governing the formation of the wage fund with the rate principle. However, such principles proved to be practically incompatible, as a result of which contradictions within the system appeared and became aggravated. The way of solving such contradictions, in our view, should be sought in the following areas:

Above all, conditions must be created for the full application of the resultant-residual nature of setting up the wage fund, the advantages of which have been described in some publications. This requires the use of strong economic instruments through which the size of the fund can be controlled. We already pointed out that this applies to a properly structured taxation system. However, this is insufficient in terms of the creation of incentives leading to higher production efficiency. The establishment of the wage fund must be approached on a differentiated basis in terms of the managerial personnel, on the one hand, for success in the work of the enterprise depends on it to the greatest extent, and the remaining personnel, on the other. The extent of the efficiency, which means the correlation between the wage fund and results, should be much greater in the first group compared to the second.

In terms of the second group of the enterprises' personnel, the organization of wages in the internal enterprise units is of essential significance. This process should be put entirely in the hands of the enterprises and aimed at providing conditions for the fullest possible application of the resulting base for setting the individual wages. This requires, wherever possible, that use be made of the brigade cost accounting and brigade wage systems, the contract system and other forms which contribute to achieving the type of distribution in which the results of the labor of every participant in the production process will be most fully taken into consideration.

These trends in solving problems in the area of wages are not new and, in one form and extent or another, have been the subject of experimentation in our country as well. The reason for their lack of success should be sought not in the principle but in its specific application and the inadequate synchronizing of the regulators used. For that reason the solution as well should be sought essentially in selecting and combining regulators for the wage fund.

So far we have analyzed some of the basic economic regulators functioning under the present economic mechanism. This does not cover all of them. Furthermore, focusing our attention on them does not mean that

the others show no problems or contradictions. The others as well have contradictions which should not be neglected, for they lead to disturbances of the main feature which was emphasized here: the synchronizing of regulators and their combined action.

For example, the following could be noted in terms of some of the remaining economic regulators: Under the bank-crediting system the extent of the reform, which is necessary and stipulated according to the documents, has still not been attained. It has still not become an economic rather than an administrative factor and the interest of the bank itself has not become a motivating feature for its actions. Company (commercial) credit has not become part of life.

In the area of material and technical procurements the necessary profound change has still not been achieved. Such procurements have not become a system of efficient and real trade in means of production as is required by the principles of the mechanism. The necessary stipulations have not been legalized and the necessary economic prerequisites have not been created.

The enterprises have still not developed an interest in solving strategic problems related to accumulations and technical progress. Attention remains focused on current problems, while the solution of strategic ones continues to be subordinated to administrative-bureaucratic management forms and systems. Programs for technical development, both on the national scale and in the enterprises, remain formal and self-seeking and are not converted into factors of current developments.

Contracts between economic organizations have still not gained the necessary effective strength and are not related to the type of consequences in cases of violations which would trigger an immediate positive reaction. The problem of contractual settlement of reciprocal relations between state authorities and economic organizations in placing orders or settling other economic relations between them remains unsolved.

As we may see, the economy shows a sufficient number of symptoms which prove the accuracy of the adopted principles of national economic functioning and management. At the same time, however, this includes a number of contradictions which indicate substantial shortcomings in the adopted mechanisms of the application of the basic principles. The way leading to their solution should be sought, found and applied. In this article we expressed our own opinion on the matter. Clearly, there must also be other opinions. We must make a comparison among them and seek and jointly find the proper resolution. In this process science and practice must walk hand in hand.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Nuclear Power 'Only Way' To Provide Sufficient Electricity

24000091d Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech Jan 89 p 6

[Article by Eng Josef Kratochvil, technical director, and Eng Zdenek Hrbek, director of the Interatomenergo branch, Skoda syndicate in Pilsen: "Question Marks and Perspectives—Cooperation in Nuclear Power Engineering"]

[Text] Sufficient electric power cannot be generated in our country over the next decades in any other way but from nuclear sources. Today the share of energy generated by nuclear power amounts to about 15 percent; in the year 2000 it should amount to as much as 50 percent. We began to manufacture equipment for nuclear power engineering on the basis of documentation and with the aid of the USSR. However, particularly with the current increased efforts to achieve efficiency in production, the past methods of cooperation seem no longer adequate.

Our cooperation with the USSR in nuclear power engineering is based on the CSSR-USSR program of cooperation in the development of nuclear power in the CSSR to year 1990. Over the years multilateral cooperation of the CEMA countries was developed and launched in various forms. In the 1980's "The Long-Range Goal-Oriented Program for Cooperation in the Areas of Power, Fuels and Raw Materials" and on its basis, "The Agreement on Multilateral International Specialization and Cooperation in the Production and Mutual Deliveries of Equipment for Nuclear Power Plants to Year 1990" were concluded. In 1987 this agreement was extended to year the 2000.

#### Promising Objectives

In addition, the broad-based scientific and technological cooperation coordinated by CEMA agencies was expanded; international economic associations, the Interatomenergo and the Interatominstrument, were founded, and manufacturing enterprises recently initiated also direct relations between scientific and research institutes.

The 41st (extraordinary) session of the CEMA adopted "The Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress of the CEMA Member States to the Year 2000," which includes priority directive III for an accelerated development of nuclear power engineering. This directive contains 17 main tasks in 4 topical sections. The Skoda syndicate is the Czechoslovak organization appointed to fulfill two of the main tasks:

—to upgrade equipment for nuclear power plants and its production technology, and to develop a diagnostic and control system to test the condition of metal in primary circuit equipment;

—to develop technological equipment for nuclear power plants, for nuclear heating plants, and for heat conduction from nuclear power plants.

On the basis of the results gained during the implementation of the tasks stipulated by the Comprehensive Program, the Soviet organizations will oversee the planning of a VVER 1000 reactor of a new generation designated for the construction of nuclear power plants beginning approximately in the year 2000. This program represents a qualitatively new level in the development. As compared with the current situation, it drastically reduces construction costs and raises efficiency of operations and direct functions of units controlling the outputs of the electric system, prolongs the service life of nuclear power plants to 50-60 years, and furthermore, improves operational safety in conformity with the highest world standards.

Nuclear heating plants with capacity under 300 MWt will use nuclear sources to heat municipal residential areas and for technological purposes. An international team is currently processing technological and economic studies aimed at potential exploitation of such resources in localities where it would be inefficient or impossible to take off heat from nuclear power plants. The purpose of those studies is to provide data for decisions about the installation of heating plants whose construction will begin in the CSSR probably after year 2000.

#### Vagueness Breeds Problems

However, extensive international cooperation in nuclear power engineering and nuclear machine engineering is marked by certain shortcomings, among them the fact that the CEMA task forces are not continuously processing scientific forecasts for the development of nuclear power engineering and objectively and critically assessing the development in the world in order to specify their own concepts.

The capacity structure of installed hydrostatic units is gradually changing in favor of units with higher capacity. In 1990 outputs of about 1,300 MWe per unit will predominate in capitalist states, and of 1000 MWe in socialist countries. At the same time, however, it appears that for many reasons only major states (USA, France, Japan, and FRG) thus far have installed hydrostatic units with outputs below 1000 MWe. In the CEMA countries, no adequate assessment has been made to date either due to the needs (for example, of the developing countries), or estimated investment and operational costs, whether in the next stage of the development of nuclear power engineering it may not be feasible to build modules with per unit capacity in the range from 500 to 1000 MWe.

The concepts for the development of nuclear power engineering in the CEMA countries and the construction program of nuclear power plants in those countries, concluded on the inter-governmental level, reflect very

frequent fundamental changes in specifications for national programs, in the plans and in their implementation. In the participating countries this situation affects the use of R&D, production and assembly capacities and their profitability. Only some large-scale production, or rather, continuous piece work can make even nuclear power engineering profitable.

In international cooperation of the CEMA countries no mechanisms have been invented thus far to ensure a more mandatory character of the planning of specifications for internationally approved plans and programs, and of the implementation of the adopted division of labor for more lucrative utilization of built facilities. Delays in the nuclear power plant in Belene, Bulgarian People's Republic, and in the Paks nuclear power plant in the Hungarian People's Republic, and the radical changes in the plans for the development of Romanian power engineering have caused manufacturers and suppliers extensive economic losses.

In its priority directive III the Comprehensive Program adopted accelerated development of nuclear power engineering as its objective. Nevertheless, we must admit that thus far the contents and the progress of the fulfillment of its main tasks failed to measure up to the new quality standards. Cooperation in science, technology and economic production has not yet been sufficiently coordinated.

The scientific and technological cooperation in the development of nuclear power engineering still very frequently assumes the form of change of data on R&D achievements, while the participating organizations are fulfilling tasks stipulated by their jointly assessed programs, each partner at his own expense and consequently, also without strong supplier-consumer relations that would guarantee firm deadlines for partial tasks and for the completion. Therefore, scientific and technological cooperation provides many useful solutions with good technical parameters, however, they do not always lead to direct capital outputs in the form of plans, new products, equipment or investment projects. The participating problem-solvers are not obligated to cooperate, which often prompts the partner organizations, especially the USSR, to tackle the tasks on their own and thus, to duplicate the work, in order to obtain comprehensive and prompt results.

On the other hand, the USSR partners of our production enterprises are very frequently state research institutes as the principal organizations fulfilling the tasks of the Comprehensive Program; they are not engaged in economic production which should follow the scientific and technological cooperation.

Therefore, they cannot guarantee that the participation of our organizations in R&D, and the interest in the participation in production will be reflected in consequent division of labor and in the formulation of agreements on specialization and cooperation.

### The Goal Is Production

It is imperative to search for such new forms of international cooperation that would overcome current problems. One of those forms is direct cooperation with the USSR general planner of nuclear power plants and with the chief designer of nuclear equipment. This will enable the Czechoslovak organizations to help formulate technical directives for the manufacturers of that equipment, even in terms of the requirements, demands and opportunities for our country's participation.

The USSR organization as the chief designer of VVER reactors enjoys a monopoly status, but so far it has not made full use of it to define the views on the technical design of the R&D, planning and construction capacities in the CEMA countries. Although in the development of nuclear equipment the USSR deservedly holds the priority status, previous experience has shown that the CEMA countries and especially the CSSR, which—next to the USSR—is the only manufacturer of reactors in the CEMA, may offer valuable and creative achievements to our common goal. The upcoming scrupulous economic regulations applied to the economic mechanism in the CSSR will compel the manufacturing enterprises to consider most cautiously the integration of their technical facilities in international scientific and technological cooperation until its program is completely clarified.

The following criteria are decisive for evaluation of the participation of enterprises in international cooperation:

- returnability on investments in R&D capacities in the form of final production in the enterprise;
- utilization of the acquired top-level production technology for the manufacture of large-scale nuclear equipment;
- long-range prognoses for capacity utilization of the established production base, stemming from the obligations of international agreements on specialization and cooperation in production;
- defrayment of funds expended by organizations participating in the whole cycle of cooperation—i.e., from research to the use of the nuclear equipment in production—and in the construction of nuclear power plants.

This illustrates the decisive point of view which proceeds from the realistic economic and production capacity of enterprises. The objective then is participation in production, and not only in scientific and technical cooperation.

At present, all countries in the socialist community are searching for a better model for their socioeconomic development. The aims of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the effort to upgrade the efficiency of management, to stimulate socialist entrepreneurship,



and to intensify socialist democracy are intended to revitalize the dynamism of our economic development. Economic intensification involves also full application of socialist economic integration.

In individual CEMA countries economic models still differ and pose financial and economic barriers to various methods proposed for joint financing of multilateral cooperation within the CEMA. The share of costs of developmental studies also determines to some extent the share in the achievement. Final resolutions of all problems connected with this economic aspect of international cooperation are hampered by numerous regulations in individual countries, and no major effort has been launched thus far to forge simple and uniform interconnections.

### Corrective Steps

The 43d (extraordinary) session of the CEMA held in October 1988 adopted measures aimed at a more efficient and simplified multilateral international cooperation of the CEMA member states. It was decided that international cooperation be organized on three administrative levels: intergovernmental, interministerial, and interenterprise. The highest level will focus on discussions of conceptual aspects of cooperation in a given field; the CEMA Committees and Permanent Commissions will operate on this level.

The CEMA's new Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Field of Electric and Nuclear Power Engineering was appointed to administer and coordinate cooperation in nuclear power engineering. According to its statutes, its purpose is to promote further intensification and to upgrade multilateral cooperation and development of socialist economic integration of the member states.

In their operations the commissions will embrace comprehensively all issues related to the CEMA member countries' cooperation in the field of electric and nuclear power engineering, including scientific studies and R&D, production and delivery of highly advanced equipment, construction and operation of power plants, and training of personnel for nuclear power engineering. Among the tasks of these commissions is the obligation to submit a proposal for specialization and cooperation in the production of advanced machinery and instruments for electric and nuclear power engineering, and furthermore, cooperation with the general planner and designer of nuclear power plants in the application of the data of scientific studies and R&D in documentation for the planning of power engineering equipment. Furthermore, the CEMA Engineering Committee was appointed to coordinate, among other things, the fulfillment of the multilateral agreement on specialization; its role in the development of the equipment for the nuclear power engineering is not negligible.

If the tasks and goals of the programs adopted by these CEMA agencies are fulfilled in their entirety, a number of obstacles in the way of more effective international cooperation of the CEMA countries in nuclear power engineering will be removed. Current methods of coordination and the forms of international cooperation still contain many problems whose elimination may help expedite the development of nuclear power engineering. However, its essential precondition is the introduction of new methods of international cooperation.

## HUNGARY

### Ikarusz Workers Criticize MSZMP, Working Conditions

25000147b Budapest NEPSZAVA in  
Hungarian 3 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Robert Gal: "These Are Not the Same Workers...A Morning in the IKARUSZ Plant in Szekesfehervar"]

[Text] So much is happening nowadays: one has difficulty keeping up with the events. We have not seen this many meetings, conferences and committees, the formation of this many organizations in the last 15 years, as in the recent past. Where will this lead? The Hungarian worker was always decent enough to cooperate and tightened his belt, as long as he knew why and for how long, and he saw the end results.

I have first heard this opinion in the machine shop of the Szekesfehervar Ikarusz plant, from Miklos Horvath lathe-operator.

Later, others voice similar views, though in different words.

### Are the Workers Anti-Reform?

It is frequently heard nowadays that, due to a result of lowering standards of living, the rapid decrease of real wages and the appearance of unemployment, the workers of major enterprises are opposed to reforms: that they have lost their traditional backbone, their class characteristics that have been so often described, proclaimed, included in textbooks and beaten into our consciousness.

Undoubtedly, we have a variety of images concerning "the" worker. According to the most traditional one, using [the poet] Attila Jozsef's beautiful lines (which have been worn somewhat thin during the 1950s), the working class participates in the class struggle dressed in iron, that is, it is brave and dedicated.

We have also learned of another image of workers. According to this one, they constitute society's leading class, they hold power in their hands, theirs are the factories which they build for themselves. Certain aspects of this image keep cropping up, but nobody has ever given us a full account of its substance.

Of course, we also have an image of the factory slob: He is the guy who works like dog, when it comes to the second and third shift, that is, when he is putting in overtime or when he is working for himself, and cruelly exploits himself in order to get ahead.

If someone were to ask, do we have a realistic image of workers that is free of emotions, prejudices, nostalgia and ideology, I would have to answer with a "No." Lumping them together with the other strata of society, nowadays refer to the workers as "the silent majority," a majority whose members are expectant and uncertain.

What does this silent majority look like here, in the Szekesfehervar plant of the Ikarusz? How do its members view today's Hungarian realities? As I roamed the shops, I talked with people I selected at random, without consciously planning ahead: leaving everything to chance.

Janos Sziladi is a locksmith in the preventative maintenance section: a grey-haired skilled worker who is approaching 60. If I was better acquainted with him, I would probably call him master.

"Right now, the Ikarusz is on a roll: we have plenty of work, our jobs are secure. But this is not enough: Unfortunately, the government has no plan or program on which we could base our future. We see that there is no harmony among the leaders of either the MSZMP or the government."

"Rising prices are one of the main topics of conversation in the dressing room," locksmith Jozsef Majsa, adds, wiping his oily hands. "We are greatly disturbed by today's world which changes practically from hour to hour. We do not hear a decisive opinion from anyone of responsibility. Where will all this dissension lead?" he looks at me inquisitively.

### Cannot Live on Wages

Jozsef Csapo, tool-and-die maker, is a man with an open face who does not like to beat around the bush. He is well informed and he has an opinion on everything.

"Our major topic of conversation is the declining standard of living. I see that around us, in this town, the factories can only offer wages to the young workers that ensure a minimal existence. That is not enough to start a family or to buy an apartment: it is not even enough to live on!"

"What do you see as a solution?"

"As far as I am concerned, it is a simple matter. When it comes to societal organizations, I agree with the initiatives that come from below. In economic life, however, this is unacceptable. Programs must be developed at the top, creating realistic conditions for the enterprises. For years I have been hearing that the Ikarusz must operate

in an economically feasible manner. But such a feasibility is not immediately graspable, one might even say, it is not a concrete consideration. For example, by changing a few indicators, we can transform a losing firm into a profitable one: and only the regulations change, not the actual performance."

"You have asked for our opinions about today's Hungarian reality: Well, I will tell you," interrupts from the other side of the bench Imre Simon, who has just finished his breakfast. He is also a tool-and-die maker. "We talk a lot about how colorful is our political life. Unfortunately, we see that the alternative groups have no concept, let alone a program, about what they would do, if somehow (for example, through elections) they would assume a position in the National Assembly. Most of them owe their momentary popularity to the fact that they are saying something different from what the MSZMP says."

"For example, here is the often mentioned problem of the river-barrage system at Bos-Nagymaros. In view of the fact that scientific bodies and experts have disputed the matter for years, what position could I, an average citizen, take in a plebiscite? I have heard no facts convincing me that we must proceed with the river-barrage system at all costs, but neither am I convinced that we could stop construction without damage, or that we could withdraw from the project in an honorable manner," says Jozsef Csapo.

Imre Mihaly turret-lathe operator apologizes for having no definite opinion on today's topics. He is not interested in politics, and he belongs to no organizations.

"The only thing I have noticed as a result of these changes is that the purchasing power of the forint is rapidly falling. It would be nice if the much-mentioned development would come quicker, because the prices are constantly rising in the stores. There is an openness, even freedom of speech: but the main problem is ignored: How do we get out of these troubles?"

### I Like Today's Openness

A giant's build, bearish movements and a warm disposition: This is Jozsef Polczer body-shop mechanic. Standing in the shop, which is the size of a stadium, he shouts over the noise that is intolerable to the outsider:

"We have gotten to the point that it is considered an achievement just to have work, and we do not have to worry about paying this month's installment on the OTP-loan. As far as I am concerned, I like today's openness and straightforward talk. It was quite different just a few years ago. There is much truth in the saying that economic and political renewal must take place in tandem: one of them cannot exclude the other."

"What do you mean by political renewal?"

"The sanctity of the spoken word. Our people, these workers have been told, and are being told, so many things that their heads are swimming. If our leaders say that two weeks from now we will see the light at the end of the tunnel, two weeks later they should not say the opposite, that it is not the end of the tunnel, but only the light from the train going the other way!"

The bells strike noon in the radio when I take my leave from the secretary of the trade union committee, Laszlo Nyari, who assisted me with this report, but who did not make any advance preparations.

In the final analysis, I still cannot accurately answer the question, what does the average worker of the 1980's think of our complex and contradictory present. I only hope that the majority is like Jozsef Csapo and his fellow workers.

**Changed Social Security Rules Reported**  
*25000117a Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian*  
*16 Jan 89 p 7*

[Unattributed article in question-and-answer format:  
"New Social Security Measures: How Were the Rules of  
Contributions Payments Changed?"]

[Excerpt]

[Question] How did the employers' obligation to contribute to social security change?

[Answer] Social security provisions that went into effect on 1 January 1989 unified the contributory obligation of employers. This also means that the earlier four employer categories were changed. From the standpoint of employer contributions they were consistent with the income regulation system previously. We now have two categories of employers. The first category includes business organizations, [and] business organizations within the budget system. The second category includes all those employers who do not fit into the first category.

Employer contributions will continue to be made on the basis of the legal relationship which is derived from the obligation to provide [social security] insurance to the insured, on the basis of moneys paid out which have the character of wages, and after in-kind compensations. Every employer must pay 43 percent of the amount of payments made to the employee subject to social security withholding, in the form of the employer's social security contribution. The reason for this is as follows. Every insured employee working for an employer receives identical provisions, and this can be funded only through uniform contributions assessed at identical rates. The 43 percent rate must be applied for the first time in regard to the social security contribution due on 1 February 1989. Reduced contributions authorized individually or centrally prior to 1 January 1989 must not be applied to contributions made on or after 1 January 1989.

[Question] What rules apply to small cooperatives?

[Answer] Small cooperatives contribute to social security after the full amount of moneys having the character of wages paid to the insured persons. Except for payments which represent compensation for expenses, as provided for by law, all personal income paid to persons whose primary occupation is at the small cooperative requires a 43-percent social security contribution by the small cooperative. In cases involving persons who perform work in a unit where wages are paid on the basis of average accounting, the combined total of the amount stipulated in the agreement and of the other personal income provided—not to exceed 240,000 forints in a given calendar year—is supplemented by a 43 percent social security contribution by the small cooperative. (Small cooperative members are obligated to continue to pay a 10 percent pension contribution.)

The small cooperative pays 10 percent social security contribution after personal income paid to members who perform supplemental activities. The change is that in regard to these members too, beginning on 1 January 1989, social security contributions must be paid after personal income not exceeding 240,000 forints only.

[Question] Did the insurance provisions regarding contractual workers change?

[Answer] The employer's obligation to make social security contributions is also governed by the fact that beginning on 1 January 1989 a contractual worker is insured only in those months or days in which his income reached 1,200 forints and 40 forints respectively.

[Question] Is there any change in regard to employee contributions to the pension fund?

[Answer] Insured persons' contributions to the pension fund remain unchanged insofar as such contributions must be made on the basis of income having the character of wages derived on the basis of a legal relationship related to primary occupation. If an insured person simultaneously maintains several legal [work] relationships which provide insurance, and if that insured person does not perform work in any of these employment relationships for an extent of time required by law, he will contribute to the pension fund on the basis of all employment relationships. Compensation received for occasional physical work is subject to contribution to the pension fund regardless of whether the insured person has or has not a primary occupation which provides social security insurance.

The ratio of employee contribution to the pension fund remains unchanged at 10 percent. A retired person insured in his own right contributes to the pension fund at a rate of 5 percent. A person granted pension in his own right, but who elects [to receive] widows' pension, i.e. if the pension in his own right is paid together with the widows income up to the prevailing maximum rate,



is also obligated to contribute to the pension fund at a 5 percent rate after income earned in the legal framework provided by social security insurance. Pension contributions are set at 5 percent also after unemployment compensation. No contributions to the pension fund are to be made after job search assistance funds authorized prior to 1 January 1989, but which continue to be paid.

[Question] In what way did the contributory obligation of small tradesmen and of private merchants change?

[Answer] The system for contributions made by small tradesmen and private merchants will continue to be based on the regulatory classification of which delineates main occupation, supplementary activity, and beginners. Some significant changes were made in regard to the amount of contribution. These are as follows:

#### **Contributions To Be Made by Persons Engaged in Small Trade or in Private Commerce**

Except for beginners, persons pursuing a small trade or private merchandising as a main occupation must contribute jointly to social security and to the pension fund on the basis of that portion of the earnings from these activities, which constitute the basis for personal income tax payments in the preceding year. The combined amount of social security and pension contribution is as follows. If the annual taxable income (a) does not exceed 36,000 forints, the contribution is 960 forints. (b) If the annual taxable income is between 36,001 and 42,000 forints, the combined contribution is 1,200 forints. (c) If the annual taxable income is between 42,001 and 48,000 forints, the combined contribution is 1,600 forints. (d) If the annual taxable income exceeds 48,000 forints, but is not more than 240,000 forints, the joint contribution amounts to 53 percent of the income earned during one calendar month. In determining social security service provisions the following is to be taken into consideration. If contributions are paid pursuant to (a) through (c) above, the service provisions amount to 3,000, 3,500 and 4,000 forints per month respectively. If contributions are paid pursuant to (d) above, the social security benefits amount to the amount of one month worth of contributions.

#### **Persons Performing Supplementary Activities**

From the standpoint of applying social security rules and regulations, small tradesmen, private merchants, members of specialized industrial groups, driver training work communities, small cooperatives and business organizations must be regarded as performing supplementary work if such persons simultaneously (a) maintain an employment relationship, are working members of an industrial cooperative and work is performed at a common workplace and the number of hours works equal or exceeds the number of work hours established for the job performed; (b) work 10 workdays (women: 8 workdays) in the course of a month as members of an

agricultural cooperative; (c) receive old age, handicapped, accidental handicap or increased old age or disability benefits; (d) earn 3,000 forints or more per month as contractual workers; or (e) study during the day at an intermediate educational institution or an institution of higher education.

Beyond the above provisions, beginning on 1 January 1989 small tradesmen and private merchants must be regarded as performing supplementary work if they are simultaneously members of a specialized industrial group or a business company (e.g. unlimited partnership, economic work collective, limited liability corporation).

The thus far mandatory 250 forints monthly premium payment for accident insurance payable by small tradesmen, private merchants and by members of civil law mercantile companies was discontinued as of 31 December 1988, nevertheless accidental benefit (accident related sick pay, pension based on handicap caused by accident) payments remain unchanged. Only the system of contributions to the fund has changed.

Except for beginners, persons pursuing a small trade or private merchandising as a supplementary activity must make social security contributions on the basis of that portion of the earnings from these activities, which constituted the basis for personal income tax payments in the preceding year.

The monthly social security contributions are as follows. (a) If taxable income does not exceed 42,000 forints, the contribution is 350 forints. (b) If the annual income taxable under the personal income tax system exceeds 42,000 forints, but is no more than 240,000 forints, the contribution amounts to 10 percent of the income earned during one calendar month.

The above described social security contributions are mandatory in regard to all small tradesmen and private merchants who perform supplementary activities. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of determining the obligation to pay and the payment of contributions, the following must be taken into consideration. No contributions must be made in any calendar months in which no supplementary work was performed. In special deserving cases the head of the social security directorate may grant a temporary or a permanent waiver to pay social security contributions. If a permanent exemption was granted prior to 31 December 1988, the exemption is valid also after 1 January 1989, unless notified otherwise by the directorate. If accident insurance premiums were waived in consideration of the amount of pension received, or if the pensioner who pursued supplementary activities was exempted from under paying accident insurance premiums, the pensioner must inform the social security directorate on the form provided by the directorate, whether he wishes to continue to receive an

exemption from under paying social security contributions. If so, the social security directorate will exempt the pensioner from under the obligation to contribute to the social security fund.

(The right to collect benefits based on an accident is tied to contributions made to social security, and the pensioner decides whether he seeks an exemption from the obligation to contribute to social security. The directorate will act according to the pensioner's wishes.)

[Question] Beginning on what date do small tradesmen and private merchants have to make contributions, and under what circumstances can one be exempted from making contributions?

[Answer] Combined social security and pension contributions, as well as social security contributions by persons engaged in supplemental activities must be paid beginning on the day that a tradesman's or merchant's license was issued, until the return or revocation of such license, or until a court prohibits such persons to pursue an otherwise licensed trade or business. In case of death, the obligation to contribute ends on the last day of the month preceding death.

Based on the rules described thus far, a spouse pursuing activities as a widow [or widower] has an obligation to begin making contributions on the first day of the month in which activities were actually commenced.

The combined social security and pension contribution must be paid monthly, during the following month. The contribution scheduled for a given calendar months—except for January—is due on the first day of the following month, and may be paid until the 15th of the month without late charge. The January contribution is due on 1 March and may be paid until 15 March without paying a late charge.

The small tradesman and the private merchant must report the income derived from the personal income tax base of such activity to the social security directorate (or social security field offices), referencing the person's social security number, on or before the filing deadline for personal income tax returns. The required forms and postal deposit papers will be forwarded by the [social security] directorate having jurisdiction.

A small tradesman or a private merchant is not obligated to make contributions for the period during which he or she (a) receives sick pay, accident related sick pay, financial assistance during pregnancy or related to child birth, or child care compensation or assistance; (b) performs military duty; or (c) is under preliminary arrest, in prison or under stringent custody.

If, for the above reasons, or as a result of receiving a tradesman's license on a day other than the first day of the months, the obligation to make social security contributions applies only to part of the calendar month.

Contributions must be paid on the basis of the number of days during which the obligation existed. For this purpose, 1/30 of the monthly contribution constitutes one day's contribution.

[Question] How did the social security contributions of specialized industry groups and of business companies change?

[Answer] Except for persons performing supplementary activities, members of specialized industrial groups or business companies (e.g. unlimited partnerships, economic work collectives, limited liability corporations) must pay social security contributions at the rate of 43 percent based on income received on the basis of personal involvement in the activities, but not less than 4,000 forints (130 forints per day). No social security contributions are due on income accounted for against taxed profits (due to the fact that the actual income in a given tax year was taken as a basis, the earlier method of calculating contributions for the entire year was discontinued). It is important to know that employers other than specialized industry groups and businesses (e.g. enterprises, cooperatives) must contribute to social security on the basis of payments (income) having the character of wages, which was used to offset taxed profits.

A member pursuing activities as a primary occupation must contribute to the pension fund 10 percent of the income which served as the basis for calculating the social security contributions, but in no event based on more than 240,000 forints.

If the membership commences or ends in the course of the year, pension contributions must be made on the basis of a maximum of 20,000 forints per month (670 forints per day). The pension contribution differential must be accounted for by the 15th day of the month immediately following the termination of the legal relationship of membership. If the member's annual income has reached the 240,000 forint level, or, if in the course of the year he has already reached the 20,000 forints per month or 670 forint per day income upon which pension contributions are based, there is no need to file or to pay pension contributions for the remainder of the tax year.

Specialized industry groups and business companies must make contributions to the social security fund after wages they have paid for the personal supplementary work performed by members up to an annual maximum of 240,000 forints. The rate of social security contributions to be made is 10 percent, but not less than 350 forints per month.

In the event that membership begins or ends in the course of the year, the 10 percent social security contribution must be based on a minimum of 3,500 forints per month (120 forints per day), up to a maximum of 20,000 forints per year (670 forints per day). The social security

contribution differential must be accounted for by the 15th day of the month immediately following the termination of the legal relationship of membership.

In the event that in the course of the tax year the member of the specialized industry group or business company (a) receives sick pay, accident related sick pay, financial assistance during pregnancy or related to child birth, child care compensation or assistance; (b) performs military duty; or (c) is under preliminary arrest, in prison or under stringent custody, these periods of time must be disregarded from the standpoint of determining the minimum and the maximum amounts of contributions to be made.

[Question] How does a specialized industry group or a business organization make its contributions?

[Answer] In regard to natural person members of specialized industry groups and business organizations the obligation to make contributions applies beginning on the first day of membership and ending on the day when membership is terminated. Membership in specialized industry groups is effective on the day when the group's bylaws are approved, the effective date applicable to new members is the date when they joined. Members of business organizations (unlimited partnerships, economic work collectives, limited liability corporations) establish membership at the time when the organizational agreement is executed, which also means that their social security coverage begins on that day.

Specialized industry groups and business organizations must pay their social security contributions after their members together with the pension contribution deducted from the members' pay, not later than the 15th day of the month immediately following the month in which payments to members were made. Such contributions must be submitted to the social security directorate having jurisdiction.

If in a given month the members were not paid an income, and in the course of the tax year, inclusive of the months in which members were not paid an income, the paid in (accounted for) social security and pension contributions did not reach the minimum level of contributions required (43 percent social security contribution and of that, 10 percent pension contribution after 4,000 forints [of income] per months or 130 forints per day, and 350 forints per month in regard to persons performing supplementary activities), the specialized industry group or business organization must pay the lowest amount of social security contribution by the 15th day of the month immediately following the month in which members were not paid an income. For contributions due after 1 January 1989, in lieu of the earlier summary report and list of employees, business organizations and specialized industry groups must file a summary accounting by the 15th day of the following subject month at the social security directorate having jurisdiction.

Economic work collectives which constitute legal entities (enterprise economic work collectives) must pay their contributions to that business organization (enterprise, cooperative) which is responsible for the work collective (in the framework of which it works) by the 10th day of the month following the subject month. The business organization then pays and reports the amount received from the economic work collective together with its share of contributions to the social security organ having jurisdiction, by the 15th day of the month following the subject month.

[Question] Which helping family members are insured, what contribution must be made to obtain such coverage?

[Answer] All family members participating in small trade, private commerce and business organization activities are eligible for full social security coverage beginning on 1 January 1989. The contribution to be paid after such family members is a uniform 1,200 forints per calendar month, or 40 forints per calendar day. The same applies to family members who participate in the activities of a contractual business. The insurance extends to family members not insured otherwise, or who are not retired by virtue of old age, handicap, accidental handicap or disability. There is no change in this regard. In regard to family members of small tradesmen and private merchants, the insurance is in force during the period in which the specialized governmental organ having oversight maintains a business record of such persons. The term "business organization" was introduced effective 1 January 1989. By virtue of this change all helping family members involved in business activities are covered. (Prior to 31 December 1988 family members of economic work collectives were the only ones insured.)

Beginning 1 January 1989 helping family members who take part in the activities of a member of a business organizations are no longer required to be registered with the specialized governmental organ having oversight, instead the business organization must make a determination and effect registration. Social security contributions for family members are paid by small tradesmen, private merchants and the heads of contractual businesses. Members of business organizations must contribute in order to obtain coverage for their family members, but the business organization is obligated to deduct such contributions from the members' earnings, and if that is impossible, the business organization must advance those contributions, and to report and pay such contributions together with all other contributions.

[Question] How did the system of contribution change in regard to agricultural small producers?

[Answer] A member of a specialized agricultural cooperative who in the previous calendar year did not work 150 ten hour workdays if he is a man, or 100 ten hour workdays if she is a woman, but the amount derived



jointly from the work effort and from agricultural small production was 42,000 forints per year, or 3,500 forints per month, and further, a member of specialized agricultural group and individual farmers, if their income derived from agricultural small production amounts to 42,000 forints per year or 3,500 forints per months, who have not simultaneously accumulated service time, and who were not made eligible to receive old age, handicap, or accidental handicap pension, will be eligible for all social security services for which insured persons are eligible, beginning on 1 January 1989. The basic service provisions were established at the uniform level of 3,500 forints per month. In harmony with the extension of eligibility, the amount of monthly contributions was raised from 850 forints per month to 1,200 forints per month. In the event that prior to 1 January 1989 the above mentioned agricultural small producer has reached the age limit which makes him eligible for old age pension, at his request, and in case of specialized cooperative members, at their request and the recommendation of the specialized cooperative, the social security directorate having jurisdiction will grant a permission to pay the earlier 850 forints contribution, rather than the 1,200 forints contribution. In this case too, of course, the small producer is entitled to receive family supplement, and the basis for pension and accident service provisions must be established at the 3,500 forints level.

Contributions must continue to be made on the basis of membership, i.e. from the beginning of agricultural small producer activities to the end of such activities. An agricultural small producer is not obligated to pay social security contributions for the period during which he or she received sick pay, financial assistance during pregnancy and related to child birth, child care compensation or assistance, performs military duty, or is under preliminary arrest, in prison or under stringent custody. It is also a new requirement that monthly social security contributions calculated on a daily basis are based on 1/30 of the monthly contribution, in the event that the obligation to make social security contributions does not apply for a full calendar month due to the above mentioned reasons or because the membership began in the course of a month. Other rules pertaining to the payment of contributions did not change, similarly, service provisions are due only if the agricultural small producer makes the required contributions, and only such periods of time will qualify as service during which contributions were made. [passage omitted]

**Individual Approach to Drug Problems Urged**  
25000123A Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
3 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Dr Peter Popper, psychologist, by Maria Lukacs: "Escaping the Claws of Drugs: A Conversation with Dr Peter Popper, Psychologist"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[NEPSZAVA] A 2-day conference titled "The Role and Responsibility of Family in the Development of Drug-Dependency," will begin this Friday in the Hotel Palota of Miskolc-Lillafured. One of the participants is Professor Peter Popper, department chairman. What is your opinion of the topic?

[Popper] I am somewhat disturbed by the thinking that confuses individual fate with society's mass phenomena. The two are not identical, and I always think in terms of individual lives: Why did Janos Nagy become a drug addict, an antisocial person, or a candidate for suicide? And, can he be helped? To which my answer is: Yes, if he wants help. As for the social aspect of the problem, I am dubious when I hear that a clinical psychologist or an educator wants to eliminate drug and crime as social phenomena, because they cannot be influenced through administrative means. We should not promise more than what we are able to deliver.

[NEPSZAVA] And how much can we deliver?

[Popper] That is a difficult question. It is a fact that, in spite of having invested a considerable amount of material resources and intellectual energies, there has been no decrease in deviant behavior. Once again, I must raise the fundamental situation: "if he wants help, too." I do not believe it is possible to help someone if that person does not realize his problem and does not want to change his situation.

[NEPSZAVA] No one can be changed against his will?

[Popper] Unfortunately, no. We must acknowledge that one of our freedoms is the right to be sick. There are more and more people who bear open wounds of social nature. If Mr. Kovacs, who is divorced, is disturbed by the fact that his former wife takes her lovers to their shared apartment, it is not an unnatural feeling: He would be abnormal if this did not bother him. The simple remedy is another apartment!

Another deviance-producing factor is our intolerant school system, unable to put up with individualistic manifestations on the part of children. If the student figures in [Frigyes] Karinthy's "Please, Sir!" were around today, they would be chased out of our schools for interfering with social integration; even though it is incorrect to force children into adjusting to an unsuitable school system. That cannot be the task of an educator.

We are faced by psychological phenomena that are due to a great extent to a confusion of values. I, as a specialist, cannot transmit positive values. In Thomas Mann's brilliant novel, "Mario and the Magician," the protagonist resolves that he would not be hypnotized by Cipolla, and yet the hypnosis takes place. What I am implying here is that we cannot base our lives on negative resolutions. It is not enough to talk someone out of using drugs, unless we have something to offer in their place.

Life has its tensions, which we try to escape by withdrawing into our worlds of illusions, and this is the secret behind drug addiction. If I could instill in people an ability to tolerate failures, I could prevent drug use. However, in our social environment we lose our footholds. I visited several services offering nonprofessional assistance, some of them connected with churches, that show some results, even if those are illusory. If they can make the addict believe that he is important to someone, that someone (let us say, God) listens to him, they can achieve better results than professional psychologists.

[NEPSZAVA] Are you saying that the individual becomes a believer and this gives him strength?

[Popper] That is part of it. More importantly, he will see himself as a personality. Depersonalization has a corrupting effect; it takes away one's pride and human dignity.

[NEPSZAVA] Does this apply to resolving a confusion of values?

[Popper] Perhaps. With all my scientific training, I still have difficulty filling the vacuum caused by not belonging anywhere, not going anywhere, a sense of "Why should I be decent, when it makes no difference what I do?" This leads to behavior depicted in [Endre] Ady's poem "The Men of the Minute," the chasing of momentary pleasure and success. People who live in a vacuum like that are not interested in society.

[NEPSZAVA] Is it a valid counter-objection that there are positive social ideals, such as living freely and in wealth?

[Popper] Living in freedom presupposes a mature personality; the burdens of freedom can be borne only by intellectually enlightened individuals. People who are compelled to act go where they are sent, and they blame authority for their failures. Liberated individuals, on the other hand, can be made neurotic as a result of participating in the decisionmaking process. Not being prepared for freedom and maturity can easily lead to deviation.

In other words, I feel that something must be done, but at the same time I detect a sacred naivete in the proposition that these social mass phenomena can be eliminated.

[NEPSZAVA] Should we return to the individual?

[Popper] There is no other way to begin. However, much depends on who does it and how; is his personality attractive and compelling enough? Also important is the environment surrounding the teenager. I believe in small communities; that is why I like the present trend of creating many associations, which promotes diversity, since it is easier to belong to small, more approachable organizations than to be part of the great social mass.

I would create small schools, in which the inner cohesive force would create a sense of community and which would set their own norms and thus create real values.

[NEPSZAVA] In closing, do you believe in the struggle against drug addiction?

[Popper] We must continue it, but we must not be too optimistic. We must accept that if we help only one man escape the holds of drugs, it is a considerable value.

## HUNGARY

### Calvinists Oust Toth, Call For Church Renewal, Democratization

25000152 Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 29 Jan 89 pp 1, 3, 5

[Unattributed Article: "9th Budapest Synod Convened: Be Faithful to Our Mission. New Synod Presidency: Dr. Elemer Kocsis, bishop, and Jozsef Somogyi, general superintendent."]

[Excerpt] "If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind. Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus...." On the basis of these admonitions from Paul (Philippians 2:1-11), Attila Kovach, bishop of the Trans-Danube district, preached the Word at the opening session of the IXth Budapest Synod on 18 January, emphasizing among other things that strength of relationships within the church cannot be anything other than the love that was in Christ.

In accordance with church regulations, the first task of the IXth Budapest Synod, which is being organized for a 12-year period, will be a change of officers, since the mandate of Synod officers ended with the closing of the VIIIth Synod. As is well known, the 96 members of the Synod were selected previously, in the fall of 1988, by the congregations in the four districts. Election of new Synod officers and organs took place by secret ballot during the opening session of the new Synod. The ministerial president and vice president were to be chosen from among the bishops of the four districts, and the temporal president and vice president of the Synod were to be chosen from among the four general superintendents, under the direction of the oldest bishop and general superintendent, Dr. Elemer Kocsis and Dr. Kalman Ujszaszy. After that the remaining Synod officers—the Synod chief counselor, legal counsel, and superintendent of collections—and organs were elected.

(According to the laws of our church the Synod is composed of 96 members. If there is more than one candidate for any of the offices to be elected and the votes for the candidates are such that no candidate obtains an absolute majority, a new election must be held. An absolute majority is half the number of votes cast, plus one. So in this case a minimum of 48+1 or 49 votes is needed to achieve an absolute majority.)

In the vote for ministerial president, Dr. Elemer Kocsis, bishop of the Trans-Tisza district, received 40 votes, Attila Kovach, bishop of the Trans-Danube district, 2, Laszlo Kurti, bishop of the Cis-Tisza district 11, and Dr.

Karoly Toth, bishop of the Danube district, 39. Since neither of the two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes obtained an absolute majority, a new vote was necessary. In this round, however, the Synod had to choose only between the two candidates with the greatest number of votes. The result of the second round was Dr. Elemer Kocsis received 51 votes and Dr. Karoly Toth 43. So the bishop of the Trans-Tisza district became the ministerial president of the Synod.

In the election for temporal president, Dr. Tamas Esze, superintendent of the Danube district, received 1 vote, Jozsef Somogy, superintendent of the Trans-Danube district 62, Magda Szabo, superintendent of the Trans-Tisza district 16, and Dr. Kalman Ujszaszy, superintendent of the Cis-Tisza district 11. Accordingly, Jozsef Somogy became the temporal president of the Synod.

In the vote for ministerial vice president, Bishop Attila Kovach received 14 votes, Bishop Laszlo Kurti 39, and Bishop Karoly Toth 41. Since neither of the two candidates with the greatest number of votes received an absolute majority, a second round of voting was necessary this time as well. The result of this was as follows: Bishop Laszlo Kurti received 42 votes and Bishop Karoly Toth 54, so Dr. Karoly Toth, bishop of the Danube district became the ministerial vice president of the Synod.

In the election for temporal vice president, Dr. Tamas Esze received 3 votes, Magda Szabo 65, and Dr. Kalman Ujszaszy 24. Following that, Magda Szabo, superintendent of the Trans-Tisza district, the candidate with the greatest number of votes, asked to be relieved of this responsibility for health reasons. Dr. Lajos Toth, superintendent of the Nagyunsag diocese, asked in the name of several Synod members that she accept the office of temporal vice-president in the common interest of the church. Yielding to this request, Magda Szabo accepted.

Following this, Bishop Karoly Toth, the [new] ministerial vice president asked to speak. He said that he sees an expression of God's will in the results of the voting. In regards to himself it means that he will have more time and strength to spend in pastoral service to the congregations of the Danube district and to furthering the tasks of broad international ecumenism. He also expressed the hope that in the future as well cooperation within the church will strengthen, as he considers the promotion of unity in the church to be more important than anything else. He referred to the fact that the danger of particularism must be avoided with united energy. Striving for democratization of church life means that the will of God must be sought and obeyed, paying attention to the teachings of the scriptures, and at the same time relying more heavily on the existing presbyterian organization of our church.

Following this the Synod voted 92-2 to elect Dr. Zoltan Aranyos as Synod chief counselor, 94-0 for Dr. Laszlo Toros as Synod legal counsel, and 93-1 for Dr. Laszlo Makkai as superintendent of collections. After that the Synod chose 3 ministerial and 3 temporal clerks.



After a break the Synod continued its work, now under the direction of the new leadership.

### **The Church Lives in the Congregations**

In his statement, the new ministerial president, Bishop Elemer Kocsis, thanked Bishop Karoly Toth for all that he has done, first as ministerial vice-president then as ministerial president of the VIIIth Budapest Synod in behalf of the entire church.

In regard to church government and leadership, he referred to I Corinthians 12:28 and following verses. He emphasized that among the gifts of grace, this one requires the most pure and sincere submission, free from conceit. He called the fact that he was born Hungarian and in the Reformed Church the greatest treasure of his life. At the same time, however, he stressed that in the spirit of brotherly openness he is ready for dialogue with everyone. He spoke about the role of the Synod in making future doctrinal statements, the Synod as the highest body of organized leadership, which is called the Reformed Church of Hungary as a symbol of unity. "The most important task of the Synod," he said, "is to keep the mission and task of the Reformed Church of Hungary visible before everything else and in all conditions, and to give unambiguous answers on the basis of the directives in the Word in all circumstances." At the same time, he underscored the fact that the Synod by itself is not capable of transforming church life, because the church lives in the congregations. Great damage could arise if this essential point were obscured. Therefore the Synod, the highest body of church leadership, must perform the functions of building up the congregations, guarding doctrinal purity, and formulating modern reformed doctrine as well as the tasks of government. In this regard the bishop referred to the importance of the church laws, which form an indispensable channel for the course of life. But he also pointed out that it will be an indispensable task of the IXth Budapest Synod to reexamine the church laws established in 1967 from the point of view of changes that have occurred since then. "Yesterday's manna is spoiling," said the bishop. For this reason the church cannot live just on the results that its mission has achieved so far in the areas of evangelism and reform. We must look forward with open hearts and seek new possibilities of reform. In this regard he said strengthening of compassionate service within the framework of church institutions and congregations is most important. He said further work on ecumenical openness is also important, but at the same time it is also necessary to keep in mind the task of strengthening reformed identity. He also touched on the matter of schools. He expressed his conviction that in this area as well the church will find satisfactory solutions. In this connection he warned everyone against overestimating "cultural protestantism" and the temptations hidden therein.

Regarding the relationship between church and state, the ministerial president of the Synod emphasized that the Reformed Church of Hungary has been since its beginning a church of the people, and it has kept the interests

of the people in view throughout its existence. He expressed his conviction that in today's difficult times, full of change, the Reformed Church is maintaining this noble tradition. A good basis for this is provided by the concrete relationship that has been formed in past years between the church and the state. Taking all of this into account he reaffirmed a point made earlier: As far as it can, the Reformed Church supports efforts toward reform in society, but in this process the church must express its influence as a stabilizing factor.

### **Democratic Legacy**

Following this, Laszlo Kurti, bishop of the Cis-Tisza district, welcomed the new Synod presidency and officers. "Whoever accepts an office undertakes to serve as well," he stressed. He referred to the fact that the constitution of the Reformed Church of Hungary is democratic. Perhaps many people think this is due to the influence of modern developments. He pointed out that that is not so: in the Reformed Church democracy is a historic legacy, and one of its most important characteristics is joint leadership. He said he was glad that the ministerial president had placed emphasis on this already in his first statement. In the future the Synod will have to accomplish all the tasks that only the Synod can perform and cannot be delegated to lower-level organs. Then he spoke about the great temptation that power represents—especially within the church, where its destructive influence can retard reform seriously. He emphasized that "the church cannot fulfill its social responsibilities and role by pointing out what the life of society should be like, but by putting these requirements into effect first of all in its own life, in the spirit of Christ's teachings. Speaking of church unity, the bishop stressed that unity was never the same thing as uniformity. It must be possible for brotherly collaboration to be born out of the diversity hidden within the church. According to his hopes, the responsible work of the new presidency will be accompanied by the prayers, blessings, love, and support of the entire church.

### **For National Unity**

State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the State Office of Religious Affairs said in his address that formation of the IXth Budapest Synod comes at a time when significant changes are taking place in our country, the goal of which is broadening of democracy and building a socialist constitutional state. The processes influence the social and political environment of churches, so that significant changes have also taken place within the churches in recent times. "The question 'Where do we go from here?' is becoming more and more urgent," said the state secretary. He emphasized that the past provides many lessons for the adjustments that are now being made, but opening up the past must not be a tool for undoing its achievements. He expressed agreement with the decision of the last session of the Synod Council, according to which the Reformed Church in Hungary will serve the new common consent.

Imre Miklos said that the most result achieved so far is the fact that the good relationship between the state and the church is an important stabilizing factor in modern Hungarian society, and its starting point is "the agreement." In this connection he stated that in working out the concept of a serving church, the Reformed Church has made a valuable contribution to the creation of national unity. He placed a high value on the work of the Hungarian reformed movement, which enriches our entire nation, and he spoke of how our church occupies a place of honor in Hungarian public life.

Speaking of the results of the past 12 years, the state secretary mentioned broadening of the social mission, introduction of theological instruction for lay members by correspondence, full rights for women in church service, youth conferences, beginning of religious instruction in the congregations, and expansion of publication of books, including Bibles. He also spoke about progress in church finances, including renovation of the Great Church in Debrecen, expansion of the Raday College and the Sarospatak Collection, and construction of the Schweitzer Home, the Almasneszmely Children's Home, and the House of Reconciliation. As he said, "these results could not have been achieved without significant sacrifices by the church and support from the state, but most of all the work of church leaders—principally Dr. Tibor Bartha, who occupied the position of Synod president through two cycles, as well as his fellow bishops and superintendents, who directed the work circumspectly and systematically, evaluating situations realistically and coolly.

Then the state secretary spoke of the Reformed Church's possibilities for broadened proselyting, missionary, cultural and social work. As he said, contacts have reached a new qualitative level, and in many ways they have exceeded the framework of the Agreement. For this reason there is a need for higher-level constitution. On this basis Parliament has decided to enact a law on freedom of conscience and free exercise of religion. This law will regulate the rights and responsibilities of churches and sects. The directive principles of this law are being worked out in the present initial phase. A broad social exchange of ideas will occur throughout the whole preparatory process, and the recommendations

received will be evaluated in public view. As he said, it would be welcome if the church would become involved from the beginning in the work of preparing the law. He expressed his hope that the law will become an important pillar of support in the constitutional state and a pledge of social progress.

The state secretary discussed the matter of schools in a prominent manner. As he said, the need of the Reformed Church to establish new schools is justified. At the same time he pointed out that establishing a school and the continuing work of instruction at a high level require significant amounts of money as well as intellectual capacity. He expressed agreement with the decision of the Synod presidential council to study the school matter responsibly, giving due consideration to the ability of the church to bear the real financial and personnel burdens. He stated: "Provided the conditions are satisfactorily clarified, our state will not set up any obstacles to the establishment or operation of a Reformed school."

In connection with this the state secretary said that a rethinking of the question of state support is needed. As he said, the state has promised support even after the obligations in the agreement have been fulfilled. In fact, he promised to offset increased church financial burdens through raising the amount of state assistance. He emphasized that the state will also in the future assume part of the expenses connected with church activities that serve the public, which will be increasing because of social responsibilities. Accordingly, the government significantly increased the amount of state support for churches, beginning 1 January.

Finally, the state secretary referred to the fact that the newly formed Synod will have to point the way through more complicated political circumstances and social tensions. Society expects the Reformed Church to cooperate in achieving goals of stabilization. "In order for the church to respond to this expectation, it must first of all maintain its unity, its historic sense of proportion, and a sober definition of its tasks," said the state secretary. He expressed his conviction that the newly elected church leaders will continue to help build up the good relationship and high-level contacts between the state and the Reformed Church. [passage omitted]

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